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Twenty-Three Killed in Helicopter Accident

AU2311155689 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1430 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] The Council of Ministers reports that at about 1400 on 22 November, near the village of Kudhes in Vlore District, a bus carrying some students and teachers of the Tirana Higher Agricultural Institute crashed. In this accident, two people were killed and several others were seriously injured. The casualties were transported at once to the hospital in Himare, where they were given first aid.

At the same time, two helicopters with the necessary medical personnel were sent from the Tirana Hospital. During their return journey, as a result of a sudden deterioration in the weather, with strong winds, lightning, and thick fog, the two helicopters ran into the mountains of Llogora and Vunoi. In the course of the accidents the following people lost their lives: the doctors [four indistinct names]; the nurse [two indistinct names]; the assistant doctor [name indistinct]; the students [seven indistinct names]; the teachers [two indistinct names]; the driver [name indistinct]; and the helicopter crews consisting of [six indistinct names].

The Council of Ministers expresses its deep grief at this serious and unexpected accident, in which 23 people lost their lives in the course of their duty, and sends its condolences to the families of the victims. A government commission will be created for organizing the funeral ceremonies, which will be conducted at the state's expense, and for other relevant measures. The Council of Ministers is also creating a special commission to investigate the full causes of these accidents.

Reportage on Trade Delegation Visit to CSSR

20 November Departure

AU2011214089 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] A government trade delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania led by Shane Korbeci, minister of foreign trade, left for the CSSR today.

Korbeci-Urban Talks

AU2311153789 Tirana ATA in English 1020 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Tirana, Nov 23 (ATA)—In the course of his stay in Czechoslovakia, Shane Korbeci, minister of foreign trade of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, was received by the first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the SR [Socialist Republic] of Czechoslovakia, Bohumil Urban.

They discussed on the possibilities of the further development of trade exchanges between the two countries.

Attending this meeting was also the interim charge d'affaires of the PSR of Albania in the SR of Czechoslovakia, Idriz Dhrami.

Trade, Payments Protocol

AU2311165289 Tirana ATA in English 1027 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Tirana, November 23 (ATA)—On November 21, the protocol on the exchange of goods and payments for 1990 was signed between the government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the government of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia.

The protocol was signed for the Albanian side by Shane Korbeci, minister of foreign trade, and for the Czechoslovak side by Jan Sterba, minister of foreign trade.

Attending the signing ceremony was the interim charge d'affaires of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia, Idriz Dhrami, as well as the members of the two delegations.

On the basis of the protocol Albania will export in Czechoslovakia iron-nickel ore, bitumen, tobacco, fresh vegetables and fruits, etc., and will import various semi-finished products, tubes, vehicles, machineries and equipments, spare parts, chemicals, etc.

Support Rallies Continue Throughout Country

*AU2311090489 Sofia BTA in English
2353 GMT 22 Nov 89*

["Public in Support to Restructuring"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 22 (BTA)—Rallies continue to be held in the country at which the public expresses its attitude to the home political events.

Every seventh person in the city of Varna took part in today's rally.

Slogans "We Are For the New Party Leadership", "To Restructuring" were raised at a rally in the city of Sliven, organized by the committee and the public forces at the Fatherland Front.

The speakers have raised the issues of the need for radical changes in the economy and in the political life, for the improvement of the principles of a citizens' society, for a legal order which is one and the same for everybody. "Dismantling of the command and administrative system", "removal of the lagging mechanisms in the economy", "complete openness about the economic and financial state of the country", "urgent and reliable solutions for environment protection, for improvement of education and medical care" are among the demands of society.

The participants have addressed recommendations and opinions at the local bodies of power. According to the student Simeon Grigorov, speaker in Sliven, the public did not show "blind faith, but civic position and responsibility".

The informal associations and groups called a rally in Varna, too. According to the BTA correspondent the speakers have condemned the culprits for the country's present state, for the unsolved problems of the young generations, for the negative trends in the development of the city.

The workers from the Metal Cutting Machines Plant in Sofia met with Mr Georgi Yordanov, alternate member of the Politburo of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. The workers expressed their approval of today's resolution of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and supported the course of the new leadership of the BCP and of the country.

Politburo Sets 11 Dec as Plenum Date

*AU2211211189 Sofia BTA in English
1943 GMT 22 Nov 89*

[Excerpt] Sofia, November 22 (BTA)—At its meeting today the Politburo made a review on the preparation of the forthcoming plenum of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP, at which will be discussed the country's state and the immediate tasks.

It was stressed that in the new political situation created in the country, the public is expecting from the plenum to discuss thoroughly the state of the economy and of the social sphere, of the state and social structure, of the intellectual sphere, of party work. As a result of this discussion, concrete actions should be outlined directed at the building of an economy capable to provide the needs of the individual man and of society as a whole; the stabilizing of the major national balances, the structural and technological renewal; the transformation of the state institutions into bodies of people's power; the creation of legislative and political warranties for a democratic structure of society and the freedom of the personality; democratization and increase of the real contribution of the scientific, educational, artistic and creative activity for the advance of the nation; radical changes in the organization and style of party work and the distinction of the party's functions from the ones of state power.

After assessing that these issues are of interest not only for every Communist but for every citizen, the Politburo appeals to the party organizations and to the whole public to express their opinions, ideas and proposals in relation to them through the mass media.

The plenum of the CC of the BCP is appointed for December 11 this year.

The Politburo adopted a schedule for the development and timely solution of some of the urgent problems, critical notes and proposals raised at the November plenums of the CC of the BCP, at the session of the National Assembly and at various social events.

A special party and state commission was set up for the consideration and solution of some urgent problems, related to the deformations in the social and economic life, which consists of the following:

As chairman: Andrey Lukanov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the BCP Central Committee; and

As members: Alyosha Vurbanov, secretary of the CC of the Young Communist League (Komsomol); Andon Traykov, secretary of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions; Vasil Mruchkov, chief public prosecutor of Bulgaria; Vladimir Sandev, deputy chairman of the Central Control-Auditing Commission of the BCP; Georgi Georgiev, chairman of the Committee for State and People's Control; Georgi Tanev, minister of internal affairs; Ivan Velinov, chairman of the Supreme Court; Ivan Stanev, brigade leader of a complex brigade in the Kremikovtsi construction administration and alternate member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP; Prodan Stoyanov, secretary of the CC of the BCP; and Siyka Neykova, secretary of the National Council of the Fatherland Front.

The Politburo decided to found a department "Ideological Policy" which should replace the Departments at the CC of the BCP "Propaganda", "Mass Media" and "Patriotic Education".

Todor Kyurkchiev, alternate member of the CC of the BCP, was approved as head of the Organizational Department of the BCP CC. Vladimir Zhivkov was relieved as head of Department "Culture."

The hunting reserves Iskura, Studena, Mazalat, Chekeritsa, Karamushki and Perla, to the Ministry of Agriculture and Forests and to the Murgash Economic Association for International Hunting Tourism. The major part of currency incomes from international hunting tourism are to be invested in a fund at the government for the needs of national medical care.

The Politburo proposed that the Council of Ministers should specify the boundaries of these reserves in view of the return to the communities and the centers of population of the agricultural areas which have been taken unjustifiably, and consider the status and boundaries of other hunting reserves outside the system of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forests.

The Politburo proposed that the State Council will close down the canteen at the Rila complex.

Some issues were discussed related with the organization of work of the Politburo and the Secretariat of the CC of the BCP. [passage omitted]

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1830 GMT on 22 November carries an identical report of the Politburo meeting]

Atanasov Speech to National Assembly

AU1711140389 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1145 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Speech by Georgi Atanasov, member of BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of Council of Ministers, at 17 November National Assembly session in Sofia—live]

[Text] Comrade people's deputies:

I request that the National Assembly discuss a proposal for structural and personnel changes in the Council of Ministers.

Stemming from the essence of the problems that the country faces and their immediate nature, the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee plenum held on 10 November 1989 made a start on a profound change in activity of the party and our state. The plenum's decisions mark the beginning of a qualitatively new stage in the expansion of the processes of renewal. New sociopolitical forces are being unleashed, the flag bearers of restructuring. An atmosphere supportive of substantial change is arising, supportive of eliminating the distortions in our work and building a society based on the principles of democracy, self-management, and glasnost.

The BCP Central Committee session that ended yesterday and the decisions that it approved are an expression of its unshakeable political will to give an irreversible character and high dynamism to the social changes.

Included in these decisions is the renewal of the structure and leadership of state organs. Above all, it is required that we should now create the image of the government as an executive organ of the National Assembly which is in accordance with its role and place as a modern, law-governed state. This is organically linked to the enhancement of the rights and responsibilities of the Council of Ministers and its organs, and to the expansion of their functions. In order to be able to implement the National Assembly's will, the Council of Ministers should be comprehensively organized; it should be endowed with organs which encompass the entire social development; it should be capable of conducting a dialogue with all spheres of society, and to implement the democratic spirit of our state with its very structure.

It is also required that the Council of Ministers organization and work methods should take into account specific branches and activities, such as industry, agriculture, domestic trade, the intellectual sphere, environmental protection, and others.

In the second place, the renewal of the Council of Ministers' structure and composition is also urgently required because of the country's socioeconomic situation.

We are entering a period of comprehensive processes of renewal. They are indissolubly linked to the condition of eliminating administrative-command mechanisms and to the transition to an economic level of management. On the other hand, we must take into account the fact that the economy and other spheres of life are in a qualitatively new situation. The profound changes in international division of labor are directing us toward a radical, and therefore sometimes painful, restructuring; toward a basic change in our economic regulators.

All this requires us to create a government capable of leading our country's economy out of this complicated situation. As is known, in recent years our state organs were subjected to constant changes. Branch industrial ministries were eliminated, councils attached to the Council of Ministers were created. Associations as economic groups were subsequently established. Numerous state organs were being closed down and reopened.

In such a structure, totally different organizational principles existed side by side. Solutions and concepts which mutually excluded each other were being imposed.

I would like to dwell on one of them in particular, which was widely applied during the government's reorganizational processes. I am talking about the so-called building in [vgrazhdane] of the state and its organs in economy. On the basis of this postulate in particular, a line of weakening the state organs, of eliminating the influence of the state over whole spheres of life was actually being imposed. Life has confirmed that the present model of government is not successful.

A peculiar situation emerged in the economic leadership. The attempt of centralizing all functions in one ministry did not result in greater purposefulness and unity of action. Regardless of the efforts, the Ministry of Planning and Economy was overburdened with rights and responsibilities, it had to deal the problems of the financial budget, of the national economic balances, of trade, and so forth.

The mechanic linkage of diversified [raznorodni] economic activities led to underestimation of some of them at the expense of others. These and other shortcomings showed that a profound contradiction exists between the line of comprehensive restructuring and the specific mechanisms of its implementation. For this reason, it is necessary now to eliminate the uncertainties in the formation of the government and to implement a realistic and comprehensive structure for the Council of Ministers.

It is particularly important for us to do so based on the changes in ownership relations and on the basis of the qualitatively new mutual relations that are being established between state organs and self-managing commodity producers. It is appropriate to preserve some positive aspects of the past changes, such as the elimination of the administrative departmental organization of industry, and to preserve the basic features of the new company-based organizations.

What are the basic principles from which we are starting [izkhozhdame] in the proposed new structure of the Council of Ministers?

First of all, we are starting from the requirement that the state organs should ensure a complex settlement and control over all social spheres.

In the second place, we are starting from the requirement that the specialized state organs should be specified in those sectors where the natural priorities of our society and of its economy exist.

In the third place, we are starting from the requirement that the state functions should be clearly defined and separated from the functions of the companies [firmite], and that the administrative methods should be restricted.

In the fourth place, we should start from the task of creating prerequisites for guaranteeing a greater stability of state functions. The establishment of certain ministries and committees does not mean a return to administrative-bureaucratic approaches. We are talking about a more effective and purposeful organization of the presently active administrative and management personnel, and at the same time about creating conditions for its gradual reduction.

It is evident that in the future we must pursue a policy of reducing administrative expenditures by doing so in a realistic manner, with a view to implementing the strategic and current tasks of economic restructuring. As early as 1990, the expenditures for the maintenance of the administrative-management personnel shall be reduced by 25 percent, according to our plans.

The change we are proposing does not mean that we are returning to the old branch ministries, and it does not mean that we are resuming the administrative methods of work and management. We are starting from the specific needs of society, we are searching for current solutions and for a model facing the future, at the same time.

The government structure which we are proposing, as a whole, is a coordination between generally functional and specialized state organs, in accordance with the new realities which emerged in our society during the restructuring process.

In accordance with these considerations, I propose that the National Assembly should discuss the following proposal on changes in the structure of the Council of Ministers:

First, restructuring the present Ministry of Planning and Economy by replacing it with a new Ministry of Economy and Planning with new functions, that should involve planning, (?self-management), and the state economic regulation of economic activities; a Ministry of Finance in charge of ensuring the regulation of the country's finances and of enhancing the role of the state budget in the economic administration of social life.

We propose the establishment of a Ministry of Industry and Technology, in charge of conducting the state policy in the field of structural and technological restructuring and the comprehensive development of industry. Under the past organization, such problems were greatly underestimated. I must stress that the associations could not overcome the bureaucratization trends, and they emerged as a intermediate link between the state and the companies, and therefore are unnecessary.

By creating the new ministry, we are not resuming old functions of former ministries, but we are creating an organ in charge of promoting industrial, structural, and technological functions.

We are talking about conducting state policy and not of solving the administrative problems of the companies. It is confirmed that all modern, developed states have similar government organs.

Third, we propose establishing a Ministry of Domestic Trade by closing down the now existing administration attached to the Ministry of Planning and Economy.

The requirement for a state organ in this area is exceptionally great, especially considering the present state of trade and services, and the changes we are expected to implement. The main tasks of this ministry will be to ensure more quality goods for the market and to protect the consumers' interests.

Fourth, we propose that the former Committee of Environmental Protection should be reorganized into a ministry-level State Committee of Environmental Protection. We all have evidence of how much the importance of ecological problems has increased and how important it is to promote a purpose-oriented state policy in this field. Our long-term line for environmental protection and regeneration is expressed in the urgent requirement for an extensive dialogue with the public, for a strict control. This requires us to enhance the state organ in the ecological sphere and to provide it with strong overdepartmental functions.

Fifth, we propose the establishment of a Ministry of Construction, Architecture, and Urbanization that should promote state policy in territorial and settlement organization, in the construction sector, and in building the technical and social infrastructure.

Sixth, guided by the importance of the tasks that we are expected to accomplish in agriculture and forestry, the Politburo entrusted the government with working out and adopting postulates on the work of this ministry, the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, by adopting a special statute for the state settlement and management of the forests.

Seventh, we regard the development of power production and the power system, and of communications as priority functions of the state and of all our society. It is evident that it has become urgently required to establish a committee of power supply and a committee of communications and computer technology under the Council of Ministers.

Eighth, it is necessary to close down the Council of National Education, Science, and Culture. We have very valuable organs in the educational sphere, such as the Ministry of National Education, the Committee of Culture, and the Committee of Science and Higher Education. Nothing makes it necessary to build additional levels and administrative organs above them.

In our opinion, no changes are required for the remaining state organs. Under such a structure of the state organs, the further existence of associations is totally unjustified.

I propose that the National Assembly should discuss personnel changes within the Council of Ministers.

First, Petko Danchev should be relieved of his post as deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Aleksandur Fol should be relieved of the post as chairman of the National Council of Education, Science, and Culture; Andrey Lukanov of his post as minister of foreign economic relations; Stoyan Ovcharov of his post as minister of planning and economy; and Petur Mladenov of his post as minister of foreign affairs.

Second, Kiril Zarev should be elected deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of economy and planning; Mincho Yovchev elected deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of industry and technologies; Georgi Pirinski and Stoyan Mikhaylov elected deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers.

Third, the following ministers are proposed to be elected: Boyko Dimitrov, minister of foreign affairs; Belcho Belchev, minister of finance; Khristo Khristov, minister of foreign economic relations; Ivan Shpatov, minister of domestic trade; Petur Petrov, minister of construction, architecture, and urbanization. Nikolay Dyulgerov should be elected chairman of the State Committee of Environmental Protection. It is proposed that Petur Balevski should be elected member of the government and first deputy minister of economy and planning.

I would like to express my conviction that the National Assembly will discuss and approve these proposals. Thank you for your attention.

Zhivkov Seen Unworthy of Party Card No. 1

AU2311150589 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Nov 89 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Who Has Right To Carry Party Membership Card No. 1"]

[Text] Blagoevgrad, 21 November—Stoyanka Gulubova, active fighter against fascism and capitalism, came to the RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondents' office in Blagoevgrad to express her support for the decisions of the November plenums of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP]. In addition to everything positive that she said about the new course of our party and state, she said the following with the pain of a Communist: "About 10 years ago, we veteran party cadres were bewildered when the party membership cards were exchanged by the fact that BCP membership card No. 1 was ceremoniously handed to Todor Zhivkov. I felt the pain, but as a Communist, aware of the importance of discipline, I had to keep silent. What had happened to our recognition of Dimitur Blagoev, our party's founder, and figures such as Georgi Kirkov, Khristo Kabakchiev, Gavril Georgiev, Georgi Dimitrov, and many other devoted cadres, who sacrificed their lives in the struggle for the social and political liberation of our country and people? At that time party membership cards were also exchanged in the CPSU; however, despite his greed for power, Leonid Brezhnev did not dare to take the party membership card No. 1, which was allocated to V.I. Lenin.

Therefore, as a rank-and-file Communist, I propose to the BCP Central Committee Politburo to adopt a decision to rescind Todor Zhivkov's privilege to carry this precious relic of our party. On merit, this party membership card should be allocated to Dimitur Blagoev or Georgi Dimitrov. All Communists and our society will support such a decision.

Trade Union Newspaper Views CSSR Events

AU2211164889 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian
21 Nov 89 p 4

[Nikolay Tomov article: "Days of Unrest in Prague"]

[Text] Prague, 20 November—I have never really understood how one determines the number of participants in a demonstration or a meeting, therefore I have never been puzzled by the contradictions in the reports by various sources on the same event. Sometimes the differences in such reports can amount to tens of thousands of people. Therefore, I shall not try to determine the number of people who took part in today's mass meeting in Prague. I shall merely report what I saw with my own eyes, namely, that the upper part of Wenceslas Square was jammed. It was impossible to see whether the crowd reached as far as the pedestrian zone at the lower part of the square. The stream of people was flowing toward the monument of St Wenceslas, which served as the center of the event. Fortunately, the fear of many participants that there again will be disturbances and clashes with the security forces was unjustified, at least during the period that I was there.

I stress this least of all because a few days ago, during the students' demonstration on Friday, everything began in a peaceful and quiet manner. However, later there were disturbances, and today's event seems to be a follow-up to those events. Let us recall the dynamic development of the events. The Friday meeting was legally allowed by the authorities. It was supposed to mark the November events of 50 years ago, when the Nazi police opened fire against student demonstrators. Gradually, the students' demonstration became uncontrollable. Political and mainly anti-government posters appeared, along with demands to strengthen and expand the processes of restructuring. Afterward, the crowd continued toward the Vysehrad Cemetery, where many noted Czech cultural figures are buried. A serious clash with the security forces occurred upon the return of the excited, candle-carrying people from the cemetery.

This is where the problems began. A rumor spread with exceptional speed throughout the country, crossed its borders, and was picked up by several foreign radio stations. According to the rumor, a student named Martin Smid from the Physics and Mathematics Department of Charles University had been killed. Despite the fact that the authorities officially denied the rumor, that yesterday throughout the day cars equipped with loudspeakers drove through the streets in an attempt to refute the rumor, and that the "victim" himself appeared on television yesterday, the rumor continued to spread in the streets, and in many places special memorial services were held and altars were built. Later on, Petr Uhl, one of the founders of the so-called "Charter-77" was arrested and accused of spreading the rumor through Radio "Free Europe."

The developments today were somewhat unexpected. MLADA FRONTA, the organ of the youth organization, carried a joint declaration of the city Komsomol Committee and Student Council which stressed that the interference of the public order organs was inappropriate and politically ill-advised. The declaration contained a request addressed to the CSSR chief prosecutor to investigate this interference. Simultaneously, the declaration insists that the Federal Assembly elect a commission that will investigate the circumstances related to Friday's events, and that students, youth, and the public be represented in the commission.

Today a special meeting of the federal government and the Czech and Slovak governments took place in Prague. The participants adopted measures on restoring order in the capital and defending the citizens' life and property.

We decisively adhere to solving the existing problems with political means, the announcement on the meeting reads. Those solutions cannot be sought in an atmosphere of emotions, passions, and antisocialist events. We adhere to honest politics. Therefore, we reject provocations. We do not wish to march along the road of confrontation, which certain antisocialist elements are trying to impose on us.

Restructuring means dialogue. We greet all proposals, initiatives, and remarks that could accelerate the complex process of restructuring.

Daily Challenges CTK Account of Protest

AU2111171189 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 20 Nov 89 p 5

["ZN"-signed report: "Prague: Sunday Evening"]

[Text] He who did not pass through Narodni Trida yesterday evening will not believe it. Thousands of residents of our capital were promenading freely between the National Theater and the Maj department store. Lit candles were burning and flowers were being laid at many places where incommensurate steps had been taken against defenseless participants in the Friday [17 November] rally. Here, at these symbolic places, crowds of people, most of them young, were forming to discuss the events.

Near the Albatros publishing house stood a group of young people with Red Cross bands on their arms. In reply to our question what they were doing there, they said: "As students of the Faculty of General Medicine we want to prevent, as far as it is within our powers, a repetition of what happened here Friday night. It is, in fact, our duty."

In front of the office of the Autoturist travel agency, a circle of students of the Faculty of Pedagogy was returning in its discussions to the Friday intervention: "In our opinion, the aim was not at all to disperse [the demonstrators] but to beat them up." As they accompanied us to the editorial office, the future teachers were skeptical: "You will not print it anyway!"

According to some estimates, in some stages up to 50,000 people participated in the Friday procession of the academic youth, held on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the events of 17 November 1939. According to the accounts, the procession did not behave aggressively, not even on Narodni Trida (as the CTK report claims). It was shouting, apart from other slogans, "We Do Not Want Violence" and "Our Hands Are Empty." Shops, cars, and shop windows remained untouched. According to the participants, the intervention of order-enforcing units was very rough [velice hruby]. Many participants sustained injuries also because they were surrounded from all sides by the advancing order-enforcing units and, for a long time, had nowhere to escape....

RUDE PRAVO Criticizes Wave of Strikes

AU2411142389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Nov 89 p 2

[Michal Spilka commentary: "What Is and What Is Not Democratic"]

[Text] Strike—a term which we have known for a long time only in connection with events abroad, has become a household word in our country again. Occupation strike—it sounds almost chilling. Engineers who have not finished their studies yet and even 14-year-old children have decided to strike. For the time being, many theaters have lowered their curtains to audiences.

A demand for a dialogue is often being voiced with regard to this. We need social dialogue. Developing it also is an essential part of restructuring and of deepening socialist democracy. However, in the interest of a dialogue we have to systematically learn, we must listen to one another and be aware that disagreement does not automatically constitute enmity, that discussing matters has nothing in common with fundamental reluctance to let oneself to be convinced. All of this is a part of political culture and democratic morals, which really have to begin to be learned at an early age.

Young people will certainly learn a lot in that respect. It would be absurd to suspect the overwhelming majority of them of cynicism, insincerity, or hostility toward the socialist fatherland. It is a pity that the school of dialogue is manifesting itself these days, so far, only in the form of ultimatums. A strike is the extreme solution; an ultimatum, in an unrestrained form, is a threat. It is a pity that some representatives of the artists' front have chosen this form of discussion, and, what is even more serious, they are wittingly encouraging it. There are many young ones among them, but there are also those born earlier, with gray hair and decorated with titles which the young ones hold in esteem, and which older, normal people also hold in due respect—workers, farmers, and others. They follow the current developments with understandable concern and understandable incomprehension. It also is a pity that in places some pedagogues, that is, people whose mission is to be a model of civic attitudes for young people, stand at the head of that form of dialogue or look on passively.

Expressing one's view on the 17 November 1989 manifestation is not anti-democratic. It is not anti-democratic to demand objective information about it, clarification, and possibly prosecution if laws were violated—and let us stress this—by both sides. However, it is undemocratic and devoid of prudence and fairness to call for the nobility of mind and the truth while, at the same time, speculating about the political inexperience of young people. The popular lore has known many mortal sins, and inventing someone's death is one of them. In the interest of objectivity, it also is necessary to ponder who a clash between demonstrators and the security bodies might serve, or who is taking such an alternative into account in advance. In the interest of human fairness, it also is necessary to count the injured on both sides, because they hurt equally.

I do not intend to preach, command silence, or threaten. But if there are facts, then put them on the table. If we want the truth, then we want both sides of the crust—the one that is sweet and the one that is bitter.

It is desired that the strikes at the institutes of higher learning and secondary schools might become a lesson for the young people. It is desired that artists might not lose their political prudence and might correctly feel the measure of responsibility as artists and citizens and, also, as fellow citizens. However, in any case, it is a pity that the term strike has again become a household word in our country.

Restructuring, despite all of the problems—objective and subjective—and despite all of the complexities and sometimes even inconsistencies, is under way in our country and is gaining vigor even in its specific Czechoslovak form. We are learning and we will be learning—how many times has the party stressed this—from the successes as well as from the failures in the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, and other socialist countries. Many an experience of the capitalist states, which have overtaken us in quite a few respects, are also valuable for us. However, we must let ourselves be guided by common sense and by what is to Czechoslovakia's advantage. We must neither isolate ourselves nor copy things. We must cooperate with tried and tested allies and all partners who are for equal cooperation and, at the same time, we must rely on ourselves.

At the 15th session of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, Comrade Milos Jakes stressed that we do not want to pursue restructuring to the detriment of the standard of living. We want to carry it out without upsetting social and economic stability, which is the basic prerequisite for its success. Any attempts which might result in tension, chaos, and social skirmishes could endanger the realization of restructuring and democratization and could lead society into a crisis. It is a pity that these words, which are of far reaching importance, have fallen on some people's deaf ears because strikes, boycotts, and ultimatums are catalysts, and economic, social, and political destabilization is their possible consequence. And the chain of circumstances continues: cause—destabilization; consequence—restructuring endangered, standard of living of many people for many years, possibly for whole generations, sacrificed.

Therefore once more—it is a pity that the term strike has again become a household word. Workers and farmers, people who are closely associated with the material base of existence, react to these contexts with exceptional sensitivity. They have a social and class instinct for this. One has to point out the concerns that they are expressing and not only point them out. Above all we have to listen to them, think about them, and, in particular, take them to heart. That, too, is democratic.

City Committee Statement on Prague Events

AU2411133289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Nov 89 p 1

[Prague CPCZ City Committee statement: "Anarchy and Subversion Are Not on Our Program"—issued in Prague on 21 November]

[Text] Comrades and esteemed fellow citizens!

Together we are undergoing a very difficult period. The program of restructuring and democratization, a program introduced on the initiative of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ], is under threat. The center of Prague and Prague's colleges and theaters have become places which opposition and antisocialist circles are trying to misuse in order to frustrate the ensuing economic and political reforms. They are drawing young people, students, and artists into their dangerous game and see no shame in asserting their power interests by making use of children. Under the false pretext of the death of a student from Charles University Faculty of Mathematics and Physics and by drawing attention to the alleged brutality of the law-enforcement units' intervention on 17 November 1989, these forces—motivated by emotions and hysteria as well as by conspicuous manipulation, manipulation to which, unfortunately, some of the Czechoslovak mass information media has become party to—won the minds of a large part of the Prague dramatic front and radical secondary school and university students. They have become—involuntarily and not out of their own will and initiative—an instrument in the hands of those who desire subversion and destabilization and who want a return to the pre-1948 period.

The truth is: Friday's events on Narodni Trida are not the issue now. The issue is not a discussion on the adequacy or inadequacy of the law-enforcement units' intervention. The issue is not even restructuring and democratization, students, young people, or Prague's citizens. This involves an abuse of the difficult situation for narrow personal ambitions, the promotion of a real crisis, and the assumption of power by reaction. The situation is constantly developing and becoming more complicated. A great deal of dialogue, polemics, as well as a struggle to explain all the circumstances—not only the circumstances of these days but of the whole road of restructuring to date—await us. However one thing is already clear: Everything indicates that this issue involves a change to the socialist system. The working people's interests are at stake and socialism is at stake—socialism, for which great sacrifices have been made; on which previous generations expended a great deal of effort; with which the overwhelming majority of Prague's citizens associate their lives; and which Prague's students, young people, and artists also acknowledge and for which they want to struggle.

Last May the CPCZ City Committee embarked upon a road of implementing restructuring and democratization in Prague, a road of the moral renewal of all aspects of the city's life. We have made no secret of the fact that this is a very complicated and difficult process, a process full of questions and possible mistakes. In many ways it will literally be a painful process, however, an absolutely essential one for the further development and strengthening of socialism in our country. Are we supposed to retreat from this under pressure from emotions and influenced by internal and external reaction?

Every sensible young person, worker, student, scientist, artist, technician, teacher, as well as every working person will certainly come to the same conclusion as we have: Now it is impossible that emotions preventing dialogue and discussions on various alternatives to achieving our common aim can have the upper hand.

Therefore, we are turning to you, all Prague Communists, members of other political parties and social organizations affiliated in the National Front, deputies, and other functionaries. Therefore, we are turning to you, Prague's young people, whether you are members of the Socialist Youth Union or whether you belong to various informal groups. Therefore, we are turning to you, Prague's working people and citizens. Let us completely expose those who have unleashed the situation in recent days. Let us make it absolutely clear that we will not allow our inalienable right and duty to bring the pursuit of restructuring and democratization to a successful culmination by means of creative everyday work to be taken away from us. Let us put a definite end to passions and hysteria.

We demand that academic staff and Communists in colleges conduct an uninterrupted dialogue with students, youth union members, and independent committees, first and foremost, about the dangers of the current situation and about the starting points that can only arise out of abandoning extreme and confrontationist forms of pressure. Only then will it be possible to justly, objectively, democratically, and without emotion, consider all issues raised about today and tomorrow.

We turn to teachers from secondary schools, from secondary vocational schools, and from primary schools as well as to educators and parents: Do not permit your children to be further misused. Their place is not on the street but in the schools. Despite the fact that law-enforcement units maintain absolute restraint and do not allow themselves to be provoked, there is a danger of provocation by various forces, including criminal elements who are convenienced by the destabilized situation. Let us jointly prevent a tragedy.

We demand that Prague's students and artists reconsider whether their current course of action and practices correspond to the gravity of the political situation and whether they contribute to the common work we have commenced and to fulfilling their personal creative and artistic aims.

We turn to workers from Prague's factories, from the CKD Engineering Enterprise, Tatrovka in Smichov, Avie, Pragovka, TOS [Machine Tool Factory] Hostivar, and others as well as to members of Prague's People's Militia and other armed units: Stand firmly by the positions that you have demonstrated in these complicated times.

We turn to Prague's working people and to all of Prague's citizens: Do not allow yourselves to be carried away by emotions but continue to be a firm element in the struggle for restructuring and democratization. Anarchy and subversion are not on our program. Let us cool our emotions and let us go together further along the road that we have mutually adopted.

Prague, 21 November 1989.

Prague CPCZ City Committee.

Actors Protest 'Misinformation' Campaign

AU2411132789 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 22 Nov 89 p 4

["(KR)"-signed report: "Actors Want To Work"]

[Text] The Vinohrady Theater has appealed to all the chairmen of Communist Party of Czechoslovakia primary organizations, Revolutionary Trade Union Movement enterprise committees, and Socialist Youth Union [SSM] primary organizations with a statement from which we quote the following: We see that our intentions and course of action are being degraded by the misinformation campaign being carried out by some mass information media. We assure you that Czech students and theater workers reacted spontaneously to the bloody intervention against the demonstration, and not in connection with the groundless, and thankfully discredited report, about the alleged death of one student. We further assure you that our theater is open every evening and that we are prepared to put on the scheduled performances as long as the justified demands published in the Prague SSM Central Committee Secretariat's statements and in the statements issued by a number of other social organizations are fulfilled. Until then, we will inform those theater-goers who do not return their tickets about the reasons for our stance. The theater workers have decided that the performances not given will be put on after the situation calms down and in their free time. We are not interested in economically harming the state. However, as artists and citizens we cannot keep silent about obvious wrong-doing.

CTK Denounces 'Excessive' Intervention

AU2411125289 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 22 Nov 89 p 4

[CTK report: "CTK Editorial Office Point of View"]

[Text] Collectives from CTK's main news editorial offices—international and political—have adopted a point of view on the current situation. They condemn as excessive and politically ill- considered the intervention made by order enforcement units' against Friday's [17 November] students' demonstration in Prague. They demand that this action be investigated, that specific responsibility be ascertained, and that conclusions be drawn from it. They emphasize that continuing violent suppression of demonstrations and ignoring calls for a dialogue with all sections of the population will damage the future of socialism and could threaten the very existence of this society.

They regard Monday's [20 November] report about the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee Presidium session and the Federal and National Governments' statements, a report issued on 20 November, as insufficiently corresponding to the gravity of the current internal political situation.

In their point of view they also condemn the dissemination of groundless rumors that whip up tension in the country. In this connection, they stress the need to guarantee conditions for the public to be objectively informed about all events so that the barriers preventing a thorough and open flow of public information can be removed. They call for a solution to existing problems and for an extensive nationwide dialogue based on the Constitution. they also confirm their resolve to constructively participate via their professional work in informing the Czechoslovak public as fully as possible.

250,000 Stage Protest in Prague

AU2211160089 Paris AFP in English 1547 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Prague, Nov 22 (AFP)—More than 250,000 people packed out Wenceslas Square in Prague on Wednesday in communist Czechoslovakia's biggest demonstration yet to demand increased democracy and an end to communist rule.

Correspondents said the demonstrators chanted a song made popular during the 'Prague Spring' 1968 reform movement that was put down by Warsaw Pact troops, before a speech by dissident playwright Vaclav Havel about the aims of the opposition group Civic Forum. [passage omitted]

8,000 Gather in Bohemia, Demands Made

LD2311231289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Various meetings were held today in other places of our republic. Originally only questions of the living environment were discussed early in the evening in the center of Most in North Bohemia. About 8,000 people gathered there. They heard about actual proposals on measures concerning the district. Among other things, they include the right of citizens to a healthy living environment in the new constitution of Czechoslovakia, to separate the Ministry of Environment from the Ministry of the Interior, or to set up an independent organ with its own powers, directly subordinate to the government. The statement also includes detailed measures on limiting and eliminating large and small sources of air pollution in Most district.

The text of an open letter to Zdenek Horeni, deputy of the Federal Assembly, was then read. His electors turn to him with the request that in the supreme representative corps, he should submit demands for and ways of solving shortcomings in the living environment in North Bohemia. The meeting then continued a discussion on the current development of society. Shortly before 1800, the participants in the meeting peacefully dispersed.

Austrian TV Says Adamec Left for Moscow

AU2311091089 Vienna Television Service in German 1730 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Apparently, a power struggle has erupted among the Prague leadership. While this afternoon about 200,000 to 250,000 people again demonstrated in Prague's Wenceslas Square, the dogmatists around party chief Milos Jakes do not want to give in. However, as was reported this evening, Premier Adamec has gone to Moscow for a talk with state and party chief Gorbachev. Obviously, Gorbachev wants to find a solution before he meets with President Bush on 2 and 3 December.

Dubcek on Possibility of Dialogue With Government

LD2211200789 Hamburg DPA in German 1706 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—Former Czechoslovak party leader Alexander Dubcek says he believes that the dialogue between the civil rights movement and the government, which he desires in principle, is scarcely possible with regard to the present holders of power. "Such a dialogue cannot be conducted with the existing party leadership and the present government. In the transition period however, following a change of personnel in the leadership, we will have to conduct a dialogue," said the leading CSSR politician during the "Prague Spring" of 1968, in an interview with the "TAGESZEITUNG TAZ" (Berlin).

Partners in the dialogue on the government side should be people who realize "that a fundamental change must take place and who want this change as well." In response to a question on whether he would return to politics, Dubcek said that he has "never really left politics", rather he has been "removed by force from politics." At 67, he still does not feel too old even today for politics.

The former communist party head spoke positively about the environmental movements in the West, including the Federal Republic, and about the international initiatives of the Greens. One should cooperate in the struggle against the destruction of nature.

Editorial Supports Demonstrators

AU2311154989 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 22 Nov 89 p 1

[Editorial: "Sign of Times"]

[Text] Wenceslas Square in Prague on Monday, overflowing like May Day, chanted slogans—down-to-earth and very critical, but attesting to the intellectual qualities of their authors—and, of course, also spontaneous calm and an orderly demonstration—What has all this revealed? In our opinion, mainly the fact that no little groups of screamers or dubious elements went into the streets, but masses of overwhelmingly young people expressing also in this manner their civic attitude to the serious situation in our country.

A joint session of the federal and the two national governments on Monday [20 November] addressed the situation. One cannot but agree with that part of their statement which says: "An active support by all people, including the youth, is of decisive importance for the realization of the extensive program of restructuring and the democratization of society." The governments went on saying: "Therefore, we are very disquieted by the attempts to disturb order, evoke mistrust in the work of the government and in the socialist system. Such course only plays into the hands of the opponents of restructuring and is at variance with the true interests of the people of this country." A bit further down in the statement we read that "the solution to the existing problems cannot be sought in an atmosphere of emotions, passions, and antisocialist actions...."

We are afraid that quite a few young people who experienced the Prague events on 17 November 1989, and who by means of a strike and by demonstrations are pressing for their responsible investigation, will be disappointed by the aforementioned statement. They will hardly find in it a clear and, at the same, understanding offer by the state authority to conciliation, offer to a non-hamstrung dialogue. They heard, more or less, only what they have already heard several times, and what—as it is obvious—does not satisfy them.

Let us keep in mind that young people constitute the future intelligentsia, which will take over key positions in all sectors. Even though we have in our country considerably neglected the science depicted as political psychology, nevertheless, let us hope that in the appropriate quarters we will speedily arrive to the following conclusion: If we do not want to make of the young people enemies of socialism, we must have more understanding for them. The fact that they interpret socialism differently from their fathers and even grandfathers is a thing that we cannot hold against them, because what is involved is, above all, their future, their socialism. Thus, they should have the self-evident right to a dialogue on the content and form of our socialism. To a dialogue which is businesslike, calm, but also to a dialogue in which there will not be outsiders disqualified in advance. Every politician should have already grasped, and respect, the fact that precisely a broad-based dialogue is what this society craves for most of all today.

Prague Council Appeals for Law, Order

LD2311101989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
0900 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] The Prague National Committee Council has held an extraordinary session during which it discussed the present situation in the city. It is appealing to all citizens of Prague to assist actively in the renewal and preservation of law and order. The present situation is causing difficulties for the work of Prague enterprises and organizations engaged in running the city. Despite the extreme conditions, Prague national comittees are making efforts to carry out their tasks. The active cooperation of all fellow- citizens in satisfying the needs of the capital and their return to creative work is needed so that the situation will not get worse.

The life of the city, home to millions, cannot be left to unconstrained developments. The Prague National Committee Council therefore appeals to citizens, students, and youths to return to their places of work or to their schools.

Although we understand many of the demands being voiced, they cannot, however, be solved under the influence of emotions of the present tense situation, the appeal goes on to say. We are in favor of a greater involvement of citizens in the poltical life of the city and in joint decisionmaking about the development of society and of the city.

The national committees at all levels on the territory of the capital Prague are ready to take part in a dialogue with all those who are interestd in accelerating the restructuring, in strengthening the developments of democratization in society, and in the socialist development of our city and our entire state.

Prague University Students Continue Strike

LD2311143289 Prague CTK in English
1347 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 23 (CTK)—The overwhelming majority of the 40,000 Prague University students continue to take part in the protest strike today.

Students of the Academy of Dramatic Arts, the philosophical faculty of Charles University, the Prague School of Economics and other universities and faculties are determined to push through some political changes, mainly through elections, and demand thorough investigation of the events of November 17.

The students' strike is peaceful and dignified. Young people are against violence and dissociate themselves from sporadic voices calling for acts of grossness. Individual strike committees care for keeping order at schools. Students go on discussions, some of them have decided to help in various spheres of economy.

Students' Strike Continues 'Peacefully'

LD2311161489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1500 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] According to an announcement by the Czech Ministry of Education, Youth, and Physical Education, the students' strike at universities continues peacefully. The students behave orderly and with discipline. There have been no disturbances or similar antisocial acts. The students' halls of residence offer full services. Teaching and seminars for part-time students are carried out as a rule according to their normal timetable.

Trade Union Meeting Held; Halt To Strike Urged

LD2311160689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] A joint session of the Presidia of the Central Council of Trade Unions and the Czech and Slovak Trade Union Councils, chairmen of central branches of trade union associations, regional trade union councils, and other trade union functionaries was held in Prague today.

Miroslav Zavadil, member of the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions, spoke at the opening of the session. He noted that the Presidium of the Central Council of Trade Unions discussed a stand on the present internal political situation on Tuesday, 21 November. The stand of the Presidium has evoked a wide response in the primary organizations of the Trade Union Movement. Views differ—some agree but some cast doubts and disagree. They concern above all the stand on the events of 17 November. There have also been comments saying that it would be desirable to express the view of the Central Council of Trade Unions. One of the key questions which is now being asked not only among students but also the trade union public, Miroslav Zavadil went on to say, is about the events of 17 November. We consider justified the criticism that the information was insufficient, given with a considerable delay, and that the public should have been informed earlier about the start of the investigation. This fact is one of the serious causes of the political tension. We are expressing regret that during the intervention, some citizens were injured.

The chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions devoted a considerable part of his address to the appeal to hold a 2-hour strike on Monday, 27 November. We have to consider who would benefit from it and who would suffer, what the political, above all, but also socioeconomic consequences of the strike would be for the whole national economy, particularly today when we are striving for its fundamental reforms.

A strike with political aims can hardly be acceptable for our miners, foundry workers, textile workers, for all those workers who are making vast efforts to satisfy the needs of the population and the further economic and social development of our country.

Miroslav Zavadil then said that other consequences of a possible strike falling on all working people or individual enterprises cannot be underestimated. All this makes us turn to all members of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, to all working collectives, with an appeal to prevent the disturbance of the production and working process with unpredictable economic and moral losses.

Foreign Minister Meets With Soviet Envoy

LD2311190289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1800 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Today, at Cernin Palace in Prague, CSSR Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes received the Soviet ambassador to the CSSR, Viktor Lomakin. They talked about mutual cooperation in implementing restructuring and democratization in the two countries and about some international questions.

Italian Ambassador Protests Travel Refusals

AU2311091289 Rome ANSA in English 0759 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] (ANSA) Prague—Italy has lodged a formal protest with the Prague Government over its failure to grant permission to travel abroad to three opposition members invited to Italy to take part in a conference on the subject of pluralism and a single party which was organized by the Nenni Foundation for early October.

The protest was handed in at the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry Tuesday by the Italian ambassador to Prague, Giovanni Castellani Pastoris.

The three spokesmen for the opposition invited to Italy were Vaclav Slavik (a friend and former aide to ousted leader Alexander Dubcek), and two members of the "Obroda" club for socialist renewal, Milos Hajek and Vojtech Mencl.

Not only were they not allowed out of the country, but Rome has so far received no response whatever to its queries with regard to the trio.

The Italian note insisted that such a response was more urgent than ever given the fact that Dubcek himself failed to obtain authorization to go to Italy last week to take part in a seminar on Luigi Longo organized by the Nenni Foundation in conjunction with the Gramsci Institute. Again, no explanation was forthcoming from Prague officials.

"The absence of or excessive delay in a response cannot help but raise legitimate doubts as to Czechoslovakia's intentions to abide by the commitments it made in Vienna," the note said.

Italy also went on in the note to express its deep sense of revulsion at the brutal police repression Friday and Saturday of mass pro-democracy demonstrations in Prague. Ambassador Castellani Pastoris said that he himself had witnessed the violence and brutality which, he noted, was in "strident" contrast with the atmosphere created as a result of the understandings reached in Vienna.

The diplomat also voiced Italy's dismay over the fact that an Italian deputy in the European Parliament, Luigi Colajanni, was detained by police while he was watching the demonstration in Prague Friday along with Dubcek. Colajanni was released almost immediately, but Dubcek, architect of the so-called Prague spring and socialism with a human face, was taken away for questioning and released around three hours later.

Speaking for himself personally, Ambassador Castellani Pastoris said that the construction of the common European home that Czechoslovakia says it favors would be difficult to achieve in the absence of behavior which safeguards the essential principles needed for any satisfactory sort of life in common.

Groups Respond to Ongoing Situation

LD2411024189 Prague CTK in English 2230 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Bratislava Nov 23 (CTK)—The city committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia held a meeting here today and adopted a stand on the present situation in the Slovak capital.

The committee welcomes and supports the decision of students to participate in solving problems of education and society, and expects that the events of November 17 in Prague will be objectively examined.

The committee stated that what is hidden behind demonstrations has nothing to do with a dialogue, restructuring, democracy and students. In the background there are antisocialist forces, which is what young people should realize.

The statement went on to say that in this complicated situation much is at stake—the cause of the working people and socialism for which the previous generations brought big sacrifices. Bratislava Communists are faithful to the ideas of socialism and peace that is why we fully support the policy of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, the policy of restructuring and democratization of the life of Czechoslovak society." [no opening quotation marks as received]

In conclusion, on behalf of Bratislava Communists, the city committee of the Slovak Communist Party called on all Bratislava citizens, working people and youth not to succumb to emotions and passions in the present complicated situation, to show great civic awareness and not to allow the disruption of the continuous working rhythm.

Members of the secretariat of the Slovak Central Committee of the Socialist Union of Youth met here today with representatives of the Slovak coordinating students' strike committee.

The two sides exchanged views on the crisis situation in Czechoslovak society in the past few days, mainly the question whether a general strike is justified. Representatives of the Slovak Central Committee supported justified demands of students but expressed the opinion that open confrontation will not help society in the process of restructuring. In some points, they agreed on all-Slovaks cooperation.

The two sides decided to continue to exchange views on Saturday to be able to react to the session of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee which can bring new phenomena into the present situation.

The Presidium of the Central Committee of the Slovak National Front said at a session here today that it is aware of the fact that all possibilities given by the platform of the National Front are not used. That is why it is ready to accept all constructive proposals for further incorporation of citizens into the creation, realization and control of the policy, impetuses which will help speed up restructuring and further extension of the democratization and development of Czechoslovak society.

"We are, however, of the opinion that problems cannot be solved in the street but through mutual consultation and exchange of views. Mass demonstrations give scope also for the influence of antisocialist forces which misuse young people for enforcing their targets, for destruction of the social system, against socialism," the presidium said.

"We call on the working people in plants, cooperatives and other workplaces not to allow the disruption of the course of the economy, a disruption which would hit every citizen in its final consequence," it stressed.

Prague—editors and other employees of the daily RUDE PRAVO adopted the following stand:

"We stand firmly on the positions of socialism and will consistently defend them. We consider the decision about the action of security forces in Prague on November 17 politically wrong. We express full support for the decision to inquire into the circumstances which led to the action."

"We reject all attempts to escalate tension in our society, mainly appeals for a general strike...We are ready to support all measures of party and state bodies which will energetically and consistently assert the policy of economic and political reforms. Words and deeds must always be in harmony," they stressed.

Players of the Czechoslovak ice-hockey team condemned in their statement the excessive and brutal action of security forces against the students' march on November 17, 1989. They join "the nation-wide debate on the situation in the country".

Employees, members as well as the leadership of the Czechoslovak academy of sciences demand the solution to the present situation exclusively by political means. They resolutely condemn the action of riot units in Prague on November 17, 1989.

Czechoslovak Communist Party members as well as non-party people express disagreement with the stands of the leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the Central Council of the Trade Unions from the past few days. They welcome first contacts of Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec with representatives of the people.

The joint meeting of the presidiums of the Central Council of Czechoslovak Trade Unions and of the Czech and Slovak trade union councils here today adopted a statement opposing a general strike on Monday November 27.

The statement described the appeals for the strike as a hazard which may have serious political, social and economic consequences and said it was not a way of working for the goals of restructuring and democratization.

The statement called on all trade unionists, working people and youth to keep unity, calm and order and not to allow questioning of the essence of socialism and results of their work.

"We see great danger in the misuse of justified criticism and extensive political commitment of the working people and youth by forces hostile to the interests and needs of people for attempts at a political reverse, at a return to conditions before February 1948", the statement said.

The statement saw a close connection between the complicated political situation in the country and indolent fulfillment of the tasks of restructuring, stressing the need for a speedy analysis in state and economic bodies and the trade unions of the causes why the adopted resolutions are not being fulfilled. It also called for resolute measures, including cadre changes, to help fulfilling them speedily. The statement also recommended the convening of a plenary session of the Czechoslovak National Front Central Committee and transferring the dialogue to the National Front platform.

Socialist Party Declares Independence From CP

AU2311214489 Vienna Television Service in German 2100 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Barbara Coudenhove-Kalergi report from Prague]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Maybe one of the most important appearances in Wenceslas Square today was that of the chief of the Socialist Party who fully sided with the opposition and declared his party—which so far has been totally dependent—an independent party.

Vaclavik Delivers 'Statement' on Army

LD2311190689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1745 GMT 23 Nov 89

["Statement" by CSSR Defense Minister Milan Vaclavik on 23 November, broadcast on radio and televison—recorded]

[Text] Dear fellow citizens and comrades, as the official of the Czechoslovak Government responsible for the defense of our socialist country, I consider it my duty to take a stand on what is taking place in our society today, and on the views and psychosis which some groups of the population are whipping up against the Czechoslovak People's Army.

Right away, I would like to remind our youngest generation that the army of this state, since its foundation and on the basis of the rich traditions of the fight against fascism and the national liberation struggle of our peoples, has always stood side by side with its people, and side by side with the Soviet Union and its army. It has fought for the freedom and independence, and for a better future for those who today are enjoying the fruits of those efforts in our socialist state.

One of the great advantages of this army has been and continues to be its firm link with the people of our country. Since its liberation, the Czechoslovak People's Army has never gone against the interests of the people and society; it has never taken action against the workers, farmers, or intelligentsia. On the contrary, it has always been a stabilizing factor in the internal political situation and in guaranteeing the defense of the country against an outside enemy.

It has done much for the prosperity of the country in helping the national economy, in natural disasters, and whenever the situation and requirements of the state needed it most. This is the path we have followed, and we are determined to follow it in the future too. At the forefront of efforts for the future of this state and the well-being of its people has been and continues to be the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ], the party which deserves the most credit for the fact that we are a country of socialist certainties, and a country whose generation need have no fears for its future.

Of course, we could continue to be this in the future too, but this depends on all of us, on how we work, and how we implement the specific resolutions which map out our successful progress.

That is why we fully support the CPCZ program of restructuring and democratization which has no alternative in our society for the well-being of our working people.

Putting forward ultimatums and unrealistic demands by opposition groups, injudicious criticism of what has already been achieved, and rubbishing everything that is socialist, is decidely not the way to progress.

Among the main civic duties are honest and conscientious work. We will not achieve anything by social chaos and demonstrations.

The young demonstrators on Wenceslas Square know that while giving rein to their passions, they will go home without fear of not having anything to eat or anything to wear; they know that their parents will look after their every need.

How, then, are we to understand the attitudes of those young people and cultural workers whose material provision is incomparably better than that of the vast majority of those whose work to create material values provides them with such a standard of living.

Do they realize the consequences of the slogans being shouted, and of the various unrealistic antisocially motivated demands, or the consequences which such actions could bring?

Do our young people realize what forces lurk behind these passions, what these forces are aiming at, and what they want to lead them into?

The attacks made on the security forces because of their efforts to uphold the basic norms of the socialist state and to maintain social order and the security of the people; the attacks made on the army for the mere reason that it exists; and the shameful fabrication of rumors about casualities and fatalities, testify to the fact that we are dealing with adversaries who are trying to use dead bodies and manipulated masses of young people—even children—to attain their vile objectives.

We are in favor of having the reasons for the intervention by the security forces investigated calmly and without emotion. Where is the good judgement and ethics, where is the honor of those who present the lie to the masses that paratroopers of the Czechoslovak People's Army were deployed? I want to stress that our paratroopers were not there.

The army, in contrast to those who have so far done little for society, has always had its honor and has never compromised that honor in the eyes of anyone. It still has that honor today, and will continue to conduct itself in the spirit of its best achievements during its existence.

We will continue to value the fact that we can serve the people of this beautiful country, the people who, under the leadership of the CPCZ, are creating values so that they can be reliably protected in the interests of the country and the achievements of socialism. It is our greatest honor and our sacred duty to carry out this role.

Dear fellow citizens and comrades, thank you for your attention.

Army Representatives' Statement Noted

LD2311190989 Prague CTK in English
1800 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 23 (CTK)—Members of the Czechoslovak People's Army watch with concern the events which take place in Czechoslovakia at present. This point was stressed in a statement adopted by participants in today's meeting of leading functionaries of the Czechoslovak People's Army, commanders and chiefs of political bodies of unions and groups.

"We refuse to hazard the fate of the country and lives of people. We reject anarchy which is spread by external and internal anti-socialist forces. We actively support the efforts of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, the federal and national governments as well as the majority of our working people aimed at overcoming the complicated socio-political situation, installing calm and order, establishing conditions for a creative dialogue and rejecting confrontation of forces, for the implementation of the program of restructuring which we adopted", the statement said.

"The defence of the socialist homeland remains one of the most important functions of our state and is the affair of our people also at present. History teaches us about the need for a high degree of vigilance and responsibility for the fate and security of its country. The Czechoslovak People's Army is aware of its responsibility for the country's inviolability and sovereignty as well as for the fulfilment of obligations arising for us from the membership of the Warsaw Treaty Organization", it stressed.

"The strength of the Army lies in support of and linkage with people. We stand alongside our people. At present more than ever before. [sentence as received] Together with workers, farmers, members of the intelligentsia, we are ready to defend the achievements of socialism, freedom and peace of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the country which is the homeland of all of us", the statement concluded.

TV Employees Demand Objective Reporting

AU2311181089 Vienna Domestic Service
in German 1700 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Barbara Coudenhove-Kalergi report from Prague]

[Text] Wenceslas Square is more crammed than ever before, the mood is hotter than it was yesterday, not least because of the tension caused by the strongly manipulated television relay yesterday [22 November]. The police penetrated into the Prague television center today. They attended a stormy staff meeting as quiet observers, during which the television employees—above all the technicians, but also the editors—vociferously demanded an objective news coverage.

By threatening to strike, the technicians forced the authorities to allow them to relay live the demonstration from Wenceslas Square yesterday; however, a version was beamed from which all controversial passages had been cut out by the censors.

Today the television employees decided unanimously that as of tomorrow [24 November] either the people will be informed about the facts and the truth, or the television employees will go on strike nationwide.

The management has agreed. As of now, television will no longer be assigned to the party but to the government.

Security Police Allegedly Occupy TV Studios

AU2311141789 Vienna ORF Teletext in German 1356 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Members of the CSSR security police allegedly occupied the broadcasting studios of the state television in Prague today. As has become known from opposition circles, this was done on the orders of Deputy Prime Minister Lucan. [Vienna Domestic Service in German at 1400 GMT reports that, before that, television journalists had threatened to stage a strike unless they were allowed to report more objectively on the protest movement.]

Occupation 'Nonsense'

LD2311145589 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1409 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] [Announcer] It is 1509. You are telephoning to Studio 7 a number of various questions, among other things. Ales Svoboda has just now taken up one of them.

[Svoboda] May I speak to Libor Batria, please.

[Batria] This is he.

[Svoboda] This is Ales Svoboda, Studio 7, Czechoslovak radio. Good morning.

[Batria] Good morning.

[Svoboda] Comrade director, listeners telephoned us and said that the Radio Free Europe station reported today at 1400 that, firstly, you gave up the position of director general of Czechoslovak Television, then that the Czechoslovak Television is occupied by security units, and that Comrade Lucan [first deputy federal premier] had been appointed new director general of Czechoslovak Television. To what extent is this information correct?

[Bartria] Well, it is absolute misinformation. It is not true. I continue to direct Czechoslovak Television. The only thing that happened was that we had talks with First Deputy Premier Comrade Lucan about the manner of the work of Czechoslovak Television in this period, especially before the session of the CPCZ Central Committee. The government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, which is directly managing Czecholsovak Television, instructed this state establishment and its director general to ensure its smooth functioning and to fulfill the tasks which proceed from its mission. As director general it is my duty to implement the basic tasks which proceed from ensuring the functioning of this important mass media. This is why I asked my fellow workers to fulfill their tasks in a disciplined manner and to ensure maximum possible objectivity in Czechoslovak television broadcasting.

As far as the occupation of the television by the security units is concerned, this is also nonsense. I only asked the district department of Prague 4 National Security Corps to give us some kind of help (?in guarding) the entrance to the Czechoslovak Television, where various people who have nothing in common with the television or with the programs are attempting to enter the building. That is all I can add to this.

[Svoboda] Thank you very much for your brief and quite clear answer. All the best, goodbye.

Jakes Receives North Bohemian Miners

LD2311165389 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, had a meeting in Prague today with a delegation of representatives of party, trade union, and youth organizations and leading workers from the Most concern of the North Bohemian Coal Mines state enterprise.

They told him that they were following the current developments in society with apprehension, and were ready to play a part in resolving the tense situation. They stressed that they support the standpoint of the Federal Government and the Czech and Slovak Governments on the events of 17 November, and they oppose the efforts to declare a general strike, which would lead to serious economic difficulties.

The representatives of the workers of the North Bohemian Coal Mines said they were in favor of consistent implementation of the program of restructuring and democratization in the interests of the further development of our socialist society. They stressed that the miners and other works of the North Bohemian Coal mines did not want economic chaos and the political destabilization of society.

Comrade Milos Jakes thanked them for their clear stand and support for party policy, and confirmed that the leadership would use political measures to halt the negative development of society. It was to this end, he said, that the CPSU Central Committee session would be deliberating tomorrow.

Comrade Jakes praised the work efforts of the miners and workers of the North Bohemian Coal Mines, the results they are achieving, and the attention they were paying to the environment. He stressed that these were important steps on the path of restructuring and democratization in the interests of strengthening the advantages of socialism and raising the people's living standards.

Premier Assesses Emergency Government Session

LD2311123889 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] The Czech Government met again this morning in an extraordinary session. Stanislav Benda has asked Comrade Frantisek Pitra to assess the session:

[Begin recording] [Benda] Comrade premier, what was on the agenda of today's session, and what conclusions have you arrived at?

[Pitra] On today's agenda, we examined how measures that have been adopted by the Czech Government on the well-known events of 17 November are being implemented. We heard a report by the prosecutor general of the Czech Socialist Republic [SR] on the progress of the investigation of causes which led to the intervention of law enforcement units against demonstrators and the examination of the appropriate nature of the intervention. Because of the political seriousness of this case and despite the exceptionally demanding character of the investigation, the government strongly urges the general prosecutor to speed the work so that causes that led the relevant responsible organs to intervene can be established objectively and conclusions from the situation that has arisen can be drawn.

In this connection, the government is turning to the public to immediately make available all the necessary materials to the general prosecutor of the Czech SR which would serve the objective examination of events.

The minister of interior and environment has informed the government on the implementation of the task set by the government concerning the consistent observation of conclusions adopted on the approach of the public security in keeping law and order. In this connection, the government has supported the statement of the Central Committee of the National Front on the necessity of a speedy amendment of the bill on the right to assemble and to associate. In connection with the complex ecological situation in the Czech SR and the demanding nature of the management of the section of the Ministry of the Interior and Environment, the government has decided to submit to the Czech National Council a proposal to set up a separate Ministry for the Environment. Besides this, we have appreciated letters and stands of working people, National Committees, and working teams which are being sent in support, demanding the establishment of law and order in our country as the priority condition for calm, useful work.

Above all, we appreciate the stands of working collectives, enterprises, cooperatives, and other organizations which express the determination to fulfill working tasks consistently and to ensure law and order.

The government has turned to National Committees in the Czech Republic to ensure law and order and the smooth operation of all the services, health, trade, and transport, on territories under their control, and to ensure the undisturbed work of the national economy and the creation of conditions for a peaceful life for the population. In this connection, the government has given specific tasks to its ministers, Councils of Regional National Committees, and the National Committee of the capital, Prague. This was basically the content of the government's session today. [end recording]

RUDE PRAVO Says Use of Militia Planned

AU2311124489 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] The Prague leadership wanted to use the workers' militia against the participants in yesterday's mass demonstration in Wenceslas Square. The party paper RUDE PRAVO writes that militia from the provinces were massed in Prague to prevent looting. As has become known, the Prague militia refused to take action against demonstrators.

The Prague government has meanwhile announced a law on the right to demonstrate. A spokesman of Prime Minister Adamec stated that a draft will shortly be presented to parliament. The Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party has called a special session for tomorrow. So far, it is only known that the general strike planned by the opposition for Monday [27 November] is to be discussed. The growing pro-democracy movement is now causing an open conflict among the Prague leadership. Prime Minister Adamec wants to meet again today with representatives of the opposition "Citizens' Forum." Party leader Jakes, however, adheres to the monopoly of the Communist Party.

Dubcek, Havel Scheduled To Speak

AU2311154589 Paris AFP in English 1533 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Prague, Nov 23 (AFP)—More than 250,000 people packed Wenceslas Square Thursday for the seventh successive day to call for the resignation of Czechoslovakia's Communist leaders.

It was still not clear whether former party Secretary General Alexander Dubcek, who was reported to have arrived in Prague Thursday, would address the crowd from the hastily transformed balcony outside offices of the socialist party newspaper SVOBODNE SLOVO.

Father Vaclac Maly, a spokesman for the opposition grouping, Civic Forum, said Mr. Dubcek figured 11th on a list of speakers due to address the crowd, after author and Charter 77 activist, Vaclav Havel.

But Fr Maly said he did not know whether Mr Dubcek, leader of the 1968 "Prague Spring" would be present.

CPCZ Central Committee To Convene 24 Nov

AU2411110489 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Nov 89 p 1

[CTK announcement entitled "Session of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee Convened for Friday"]

[Text] The Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium discussed at yesterday's session the present internal political situation and decided to convene a session of the CPCZ Central Committee on Friday 24 November this year.

23 Nov Demonstration in Wenceslas Square

LD2311162789 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] For the fourth consecutive day, demonstrators have gathered in Wenceslas Square, Prague, to express disagreement with the 17 November intervention by the security forces and to voice their demands and standpoints with slogans and banners.

Today at about 1600, there were tens of thousands gathered there, mainly in the middle of the square. Speakers are now addressing them from the Melantrich publishing house building.

More on Demonstrations

AU2311155989 Paris AFP in English 1549 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Prague, Nov 23 (AFP)—The beginning of the demonstration was shown by Czechoslovak television in its early news programme.

Unconfirmed reports circulating in Prague said that the country's political police had occupied one of the TV buildings. Among banners being brandished by the crowd in Wenceslas Sqaure was one which read: "The television belongs to the people."

'Thousands' Fill Square in Bratislava

LD2311173589 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1700 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] The Slovenske Narodni Povstani Square in the center of Bratislava, capital of Slovakia, was today filled with thousands of the town's citizens, the majority of them young people, who expressed their demands with several banners and by shouting slogans.

'Tens of Thousands'

LD2311220489 Prague CTK in English 2121 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Bratislava Nov 23 (CTK)—Tens of thousands of people, predominantly young people, gathered on Slovak National Uprising Square here tonight.

Their slogans called for unity, democracy, free elections, cadre changes, consistent punishment of those responsible for the event in Prague on November 17 and ensuring complete and truthful information by mass media.

The first speaker at the demonstration, which started shortly after 15:00 GMT, was actor Milan Knazko, who announced the slogan of today's meeting "We want access to television and press".

Also present at the demonstration was Alexander Dubcek.

Speakers called for frank dialogue, solution to urgent ecological problems, installing real democracy and ensuring truthful and complete information by mass media.

Czechoslovak Communist Party member, representative of the movement The Public Against Violence Vladimir Ondrus stressed that honest Communists equally as all others have further fate of the country at their heart. [sentence as received]

The participants ended the peaceful demonstration by singing the Czechoslovak anthem.

Austrian TV Reports Dubcek Arrival in Prague

AU2311134389 Vienna ORF Teletext in German 1309 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Prague—The CSSR party organ RUDE PRAVO confirmed indirectly today that yesterday there was the danger of the large-scale use of the armed party militia against the continuing demonstrations in Prague's Wenceslas Square.

Units of this militia from the provinces were massed in Prague in order "to prevent looting." Informed circles report that the Prague party militia refused to take action against the demonstrators in any form. The Prague units recently received weapons, but demonstratively returned the live ammunition.

Prior to tomorrow's planned special session of the Central Committee, party leader Jakes held consultations with the Soviet ambassador to Prague, Lomakin, on the tense situation. Reports on a surprise visit by Prime Minister Adamec to the USSR had been vehemently denied before the meeting.

Meanwhile, former party leader Dubcek has arrived in Prague. Rumors are growing that Dubcek plans to address a mass rally this afternoon. Friends of his are reported as saying that Dubcek is being shadowed and might be prevented by security forces from participating in the rally.

Dubcek 'Censored'

AU2311193489 Vienna Television Service in German 1830 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Report from Bratislava by unidentified correspondent]

[Excerpt] In Bratislava, some 50,000 people demonstrated for democracy and freedom of opinion this afternoon [23 November]. Among them, and practicing solidarity with them, was Aleksandr Dubcek, the symbolic figure of the Prague Spring. What he said to them was censored by the CSSR television. What is intelligible are words such as humanity, justice, democracy. [passage omitted]

Dubcek Addresses Bratislava Rally of 50,000

AU2311183289 Paris AFP in English
1809 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Prague, Nov 23 (AFP) The leader of the 1968 Prague Spring, Alexander Dubcek addressed a rally of 50,000 people Thursday in Bratislava while 300,000 more demonstrators rallied for the seventh day in succession in Prague to demand the resignation of the country's leaders.

Speaking on the eve of an important plenum of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party Central Committee, Mr. Dubcek recalled events of 1968 when his liberalisation movement was crushed by troops of the Warsaw Pact and described the present situation in Czechoslovakia as "very turbulent".

He said the country's present problems should be "resolved without recourse to violence".

Mr. Dubcek had been expected to address the Prague meeting after reports went round that he had arrived in the capital from Bratislava where he has lived since being toppled as Communist Party chief.

Mr. Dubcek, now 68, had been included on a list of speakers due to address the Prague demonstrators from a balcony outside the office of the socialist party paper SVOBODNE SLOVO.

In fact, there were some ten speakers including playwright and human rights militant Vaclav Havel. The demonstration broke up after 90 minutes.

Speculation has mounted since Wednesday about a possible return to prominence of Mr. Dubcek whose name was mentioned in the official press Thursday for the first time in 20 years.

Two newspapers, SVOBODNE SLOVO and an early edition of the communist party youth daily MLADA FRONTA quoted extracts from a message of support from Mr. Dubcek to the demonstrators read out Wednesday to the crowd by his former deputy Venek Silhan.

The crowd chanted the name of Mr. Dubcek, who called on all those leaders connected with the 1968 invasion to resign.

Only the first edition of MLADA FRONTA mentioned Mr. Dubcek, later editions made no reference to his message.

Another boost for Mr. Dubcek came from the Soviet Union: In the MOSCOW NEWS daily, Soviet writer and parliamentary deputy Daniel Granin criticised the 1968 ouster of Mr. Dubcek and praised his effort to humanise communism as a "first perestroika" a reference to the reform campaign now underway in the Soviet Union itself.

Bratislava Radio Notes Dubcek's Presence

LD2311210589 Bratislava Domestic Service
in Slovak 2030 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Tens of thousands of citizens from the Slovak capital, mostly young people, gathered today at the Slovenske Narodni Povstani Square in Bratislava.

Slogans demanding unity, democracy, cadre changes, consistent punishment for those responsible for the events of 17 November in Prague, and securing full and truthful information in mass media dominated in front of the makeshift platform.

The participants in the rally became acquainted with some of the other 96 organizations, the employees of which joined in the demands expressed in the statement, Public against Violence.

Aleksandr Dubcek was also present at the rally.

Slovak National Front Appeals to Youth

LD2311211189 Bratislava Domestic Service
in Slovak 1730 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] The Slovak Socialist Republic National Front Central Committee Presidium discussed at today's emergency session in Bratislava the situation which has developed during the last few days. It stated that the implementation of a demanding program of restructuring and democratization is supported by the majority of our people. However, necessary changes have been pushed through slowly.

The Presidium is prepared to accept all constructive suggestions regarding further engagement of citizens in forming, implementing, and checking policy, suggestions which will contribute toward accelerating the progress of restructuring and the further deepening of democratization, as well as developing socialist society.

The Slovak Socialist Republic National Front Central Committee Presidium stressed in a statement, which was adopted, that the National Front will not allow the gains of February 1948 to be lost nor the positive results of our efforts in building socialism invalidated. It appealed to the workers in factories, cooperatives, and other work places not to allow the disruption of our economy's functioning, a disruption which would hit every citizen. The Slovak Socialist Republic National Front Central Committee Presidium appealed specifically to young people not to allow themselves to be carried away to commit spontaneous antisocialist acts.

Havel Addresses 300,000 Demonstrators

LD2311212889 Prague CTK in English
2045 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 23 (CTK)—Some 300,000 people gathered in Wenceslas Square and the adjacent streets this afternoon for the fourth consecutive day to voice their disapproval of the action taken by security forces on November 17, 1989 and with slogans and banners express their views on the present situation in Czechoslovakia and the further development of society.

The demonstrators were addressed by representatives of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, Czechoslovak People's Party, Civil Forum, striking students and actors.

Central Secretary of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party Jan Skoda spoke of yesterday's meeting of the party presidium with leading representatives of the Czechoslovak Communist Party during which members of the presidium underlined extraordinary seriousness of the situation and voiced concern about further developments. They voiced regret over the action taken by security forces on November 17 and pointed out the urgent need for investigation of the whole affair. He also announced that important political bodies will meet here on Friday to discuss the present political situation and propose solutions. Also meeting will be the Czechoslovak Socialist Party Central Committee.

Chairman of the Ecumenical Council of Churches Josef Hromadka acquainted the participants with the stand of the council, calling inter alia for respect for the opinions of all citizens and underlining that he stands for the right to assembly and to expressing will only by peaceful means.

The demonstrators in Wenceslas Square were also addressed by writer Vaclav Havel who delivered today's statement of the Civil Forum, stressing that the forum is ready to start dialogue with representatives of the state.

The demonstrators were again acquainted with the demands of the Civil Forum which are to be supported by the planned token strike.

Two members of the Czechoslovak People's Party spoke about its problems. Chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Youth Union University Students Centre Ivan Petruzelak called on premiers of the Czechoslovak, Czech and Slovak Governments for constructive negotiations with the centre and the coordinating strike committee. He demanded among other things a response to the statement of the striking students. Other speakers voiced above all support for the demands of the Civil Forum.

Director of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences Prognostic Institute Valtr Komarek in his address identified himself with the demands of the demonstrators stating inter alia that society faces solution of many tasks in the future. Also other problems were mentioned in Wenceslas Square today, such as the work of mass media and the present ecological situation.

The prepared program of the demonstration ended at half past five and its participants started to slowly leave the square and the adjacent streets.

Committee Says 80,000 Students on Strike

LD2311214589 Prague CTK in English 1513 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 23 (CTK)—The first meeting of the press commission of the Prague students strike committee with journalists took place here today.

The journalists were acquainted with the appeal of students to fellow-citizens and with their stand on the present situations.

Answering questions of journalists representatives of the strike committee stated inter alia that today about 80,000 students all over Czechoslovakia are on strike. They told them that many Prague students are visiting every day other regions and explaining their stands particularly to workers.

Asked about the relation of the Prague strike committee to the Socialist Youth Union, the students stated: "Talks between us and representatives of the Socialist Youth Union are under way. We have our common cause with the Socialist Youth Union. At the faculties we meet [as received] with support of the union's faculty committees, today further joint talks are to take place during which we want to explain to each other some different approaches. [no end quotation marks received]

The press conference was also attended by foreign correspondents and television teams.

Youth Union Members, Student Strikers Meet

LD2311213889 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1700 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Members of the Slovak Socialist Youth Union Central Committee Secretariat met representatives of the Slovak coordination student strike committee in Bratislava today.

Representatives of the Scretariat supported the students' well-founded demands, but on the other hand expressed the view that open confrontation will not help our society in the process of restructuring and that pupils and students under the age of 15 should not take part in demonstrations and mass rallies.

They also decided to continue their exchange of views on 25 November to be able to react to the results of a Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee session.

Czech Students To End Strike on 26 Nov

LD2311215489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Jana Synkova, Czech minister of education, youth and sport, together with the rectors of the Czech universities and deans of the separate teacher training faculties, had talks at the Agricultural University in Prague with the Prague coordinating strike committee of university students and representatives of the faculty strike committees of the whole Czech Socialist Republic.

The following conclusions resulted from the open dialogue:

The students of Czech universities will end their strike on the evening of 26 November. On 27 November, normal teaching will resume, while only the strike committees will continue to operate.

On 25 or 26 November, there will be a roundtable on Czechoslovak television between representatives of the Czech government and representatives of the students' strike committees.

This news was given to CTK by Milan Sulista, Czech deputy minister of education, youth and sport.

Students Refute Report

LD2411094189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0700 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] The Prague Strike Coordination Committee of Higher Education Students refutes the report of the Czech Ministry of Education, Youth, and Physical Training on ending students' strike on Sunday, 26 November. The committee has so far made no statement on ending the strikes.

Party Leader Stepan Calls for 'Radical Changes'

AU2411094389 Paris AFP in English 0859 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Prague, Nov 24 (AFP)—A few hours before a crucial plenum of the Czechoslovak Communist Party was to open here on Friday, the Prague branch of the party called for "radical changes" to the party leadership.

The resolution, adopted overnight by the branch committee under its president Miroslav Stepan, said "at this crucial moment for the future of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, it is not the personal positions of the leaders which should take precedence, but the party as a whole."

The Prague branch also denounced the police brutality used against student demonstrators on November 17, blaming it for the "current serious political situation".

CPCZ Central Committee Session Convenes

LD2411092289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0800 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] The CPCZ Central Committee is convening in Prague for its extraordinary session. It will express itself on the political situation in the country and will adopt decisions which will lead to overcoming the current crisis-ridden situation.

Jakes Opens Session

LD2411101489 Prague CTK in English 0950 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 24 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes opened a session of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party here today.

Kucera Delivers Speech

LD2411095489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0900 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] The session of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party Central Committee in Prague today is devoted to the current internal political situation.

Bohuslav Kucera, the party chairman, is delivering the introductory speech.

Hundreds of Students Await Party Resolutions

LD2411113789 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] The area around St Wenceslas statue, where student representatives hold round-the-clock duty, has again become a place of discussion today. Individual speakers are informing those present there, numbering about several hundred, about the students' demands and the statements of support of work collectives and various enterprises. The discussion is carried out in a democratic spirit and everyone present has the opportunity to speak. People are bringing hot tea and snacks to the students. Some are also contributing money to the students.

The people gathered here are tensely waiting for the news from the today's Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee session. A view which unanimously prevails is that unless the session adopts fundamental political and cadres measures it is not possible to expect the present situation to stay calm in the near future.

Dubcek Addresses 'Cheering' Crowd in Prague

AU2411152889 Paris AFP in English 1519 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Prague, Nov 24 (AFP)—Former Czechoslovak leader Alexander Dubcek, ousted after Soviet-led forces crushed the "Prague Spring" in 1968, addressed a cheering crowd of 300,000 people in central Prague Friday.

Mr Dubcek began speaking shortly before 1500 GMT as the crowd, massed in Prague's Wenceslas Square, chanted his name.

His appearance, the first of its kind since 1968, came as the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party opened a crucial plenum with calls for radical changes in party doctrine and leadership.

The Prague Spring of political and cultural liberalization, spearheaded by Mr Dubcek, was brutally stamped out on the night of August 21, 1968 when Soviet-led Warsaw Pact forces rolled into the Czechoslovak capital.

Mr Dubcek was replaced as party leader and head of state shortly thereafter and has lived in relative obscurity since.

"The idea of socialism with a human face lives today in the new generation of Czechoslovakians," Mr.Dubcek said, recalling the phrase he coined during the Prague Spring.

"For too long we have lived in darkness—let us begin taking action in the light," Mr. Dubcek said as the crowd roared with applause and chanted his name.

Mr. Dubcek said he supported the efforts of the newly-created opposition group Civic Forum, which is seeking to coordinate the moves of various Czechoslovakian opposition groups which have sprung up in recent weeks.

He appealed to the army and the police "not to turn their arms against the people."

"Do not forget that you have come from this people," he said.

Mr. Dubcek said he was addressing not only the Czechoslovakians in the country "but also all those outside the borders."

"Let us unite to succeed together," he said.

Prague Party Committee Issues Statement

LD2411094289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0700 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] The Prague Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] City Committee adopted a statement at yesterday's extraordinary session, in which it turned to today's session of the party's Central Committee. It believes that in the serious situation which has developed, in the forefront the position of individual leading officials is not as important as is the the whole party. the committee, therefore, believes it necessary that today's Central Committee session implement radical cadre changes in the Presidium of the Central Committee. It also considers it necessary to adopt at this session a program of concrete steps leading to a solution of the crisis situation.

The Prague party city committee also recommends to convene before the end of this year another session of the Central Committee, to which will be submitted the party's action policy [akcni postup] before the 18th congress. It considers it a key demand to immediately open a democratic dialogue with all who want development of socialism, restructuring, and democratization.

The Prague party city committee also notes that, independently of the result of the investigation into the causes and conduct of the invervention by order-enforcement units on 17 November, this event had a serious and negative impact on the political situation in the capital and the country as a whole. It recommends that the General Prosecutor's Office concurrently consult the course of investigation with the students according to approved schedule.

The city CPCZ committee believes that the coming session of the Central Committee is a truly fateful moment because the future of the Communist Party and our whole society will be decided.

Bratislava Comments on Situation in Slovakia

LD2411132189 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1130 GMT 24 Nov 89

["Editor" Zoltan Liptak commentary]

[Text] In the last 3 days I have had the opportunity to travel through Slovakia and follow the unusually fast social developments. The first thing I noticed was that all dailies were sold before noon. The second was mainly in the centers of regions—groups of young people discussing things, assembled around lamp posts covered with appeals and statements, often written in Czech. There were notices on sidewalks, meetings between representatives of towns, of party bodies, of cultural and artistic unions. All this—if we disregard isolated anti-constitutional shouts—on the basis of socialist opinion pluralism.

There was much to be seen. My interest was, however, attracted by a sight of a mother, father and child, joining a group and asking: What would come of this? What sort of Christmas will we have? Will we have enough heating and lighting in the winter? What will be the value of the Czechoslovak crown, what will the the price of goods? Their concern is justified, because the appeals for a general strike on Monday [27 November] in the situation in which our economy finds itself would lead only to such consequences.

I have in front of me a statement of yesterday's extraordinary session of the Prague City Party Committee, in which it appeals to today's extraordinary Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee session. I was interested in the first of the five points, which says: The City Committee believes that in the current weighty situation the main issue is not the position of individual leading officials, but of the entire Communist Party. The conclusion which it stresses is that the Prague City Party Committee sees today's session as a fateful moment at which the destiny of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and of our entire society would be decided.

Although we are in a situation in which we have no examples or receipts to follow, we still have a strong economy, and sensible and hard-working people. And this is the chance we must utilize. It depends on the Czechoslovak Communist Party decision to be made today on the further course of restructuring.

Jakes Receives N. Moravian Party Delegation

LD2411110689 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1000 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Comrade Milos Jakes received today a delegation of the North Moravian Regional Organization of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, led by Comrade Vaclav Vaclavik. The delegation comprises representatives of miners, metallurgical workers, agricultural workers, and workers of other enterprises of the region, representatives of the meritorious members of the party.

The delegation pointed out that the non-objectivity of information carried in the media, which does not contain the views of all, and came out unequivocally against anarchy and strikes. It voiced a demand to reinforce action unity of the party, based on the unity of its Central Committee. It pointed to the need to continue to work, and to fulfill tasks. The working class is ready to support the unity of the party, and demands its unity as a base for the ability to act throughout party. Communists will do their utmost in acting openly for the benefit of a socialist society.

Comrade Milos Jakes explained the complicated character of the situation. He emphasized that the unity of the entire committee and of the entire party is essential. Only unity can secure this action and combat spirit of the party and all Communists. This Central Committee session is of vital importance for the party, its further work, its existence as a Marxist-Leninist party.

Milos Jakes said that antisocialist forces' activity is manifested in our country.

Radio Terms Situation in Prague 'Tense'

LD2411110989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0500 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] The tense situation in Prague grew even more acute last night. Various unsubstantiated reports are appearing; for example, that on the alleged intervention of the National Security Corps in Czechoslovak Television. Demands that the government should resign are being proclaimed. The delegations of the students' strike committees, together with actors from Prague theaters, are persuading workers from plants, enterprises, and consumer and health services to join the demonstrative general strike. In a number of cases they are successful; elsewhere—especially in the provinces —they are encountering refusals.

Slovak Revival Party Meets in Bratislava

LD2411120189 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] The irreversible nature of the process of restructuring in our society is being stressed by the today's session of the Central Committee [CC] of the Slovak Revival Party in Bratislava. On the agenda is the report on the party's activity concerning activating political parties and public organizations united in the National Front. The session will outline the principles of further activities of the Slovak Revival Party.

AFP Says Vaclavik in Hospital After 'Overdose'

AU2411140689 Paris AFP in English 1405 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Prague, Nov 24 (AFP)—Czechoslovakian Defence Minister General Milan Vaclavik was rushed to hospital here Friday after taking "an overdose of medicines", reliable sources said.

General Vaclavik was taken to the Prague military hospital Friday morning as a crucial plenum of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party Central Committee opened.

No further details on the general's state of health were immediately available.

Gen Vaclavik late Thursday had rejected what he called "anti- socialist anarchy" in Czechoslovakia and warned that the army was "ready to work for socialism" if needed.

Security Office Displays U.S. 'Spy' System

LD2411115989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1058 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Today in Berlin the GDR Office for National Security announced the latest results of its counterintelligence efforts to domestic media. It was the first news briefing by the institution, founded with the formation of the government last week and after the dissolution of the Ministry of State Security.

Spokesman Stephen Roahl announced that it would in the future present itself to the public at short intervals, outlining all the main directions of its newly defined activity. Apart from counterintelligence, this involves, in particular, the fight against activities which endanger peace and attack law and order. There will also be openness about the past performance of state security.

At the news conference, a technical expert of the office introduced an "automatically operating reconnaisance system," which was said to be part of the U.S. intelligence service INSCOM (Intelligence and Security Command). The electronic spy was discovered in autumn 1989 near a GDR military installation in Frankfurt Bezirk.

FRG Citizen Convicted of Espionage Charge

LD2311171389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1624 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A verdict was handed down today in the public espionage trial of FRG citizen Peter Sch. [name abbreviated as received] by the First Military Criminal Bench of the Berlin Higher Military Court. The sailor was sentenced to 5 years in prison. He was found guilty of gathering and passing on intelligence about the GDR's NVA [National People's Army] and the Western Group of Soviet Forces as well as the procedures at border checkpoints on behalf of the Federal Intelligence Service. He did this during numerous trips on the transit canals between the FRG and Berlin (West). The explanation of the verdict says he supplied individual bits of information, which, boiled down at the Federal Intelligence Service's headquarters, could be useful against the defense interests of the GDR.

The court's decision, however, was less than the sentence of 7 years called for by the military state prosecutor. In many points it linked up with the defense that Sch., blinded by the prospects of payments of DM 300 a month in addition DM 80 per trip offered by the Federal Intelligence Service, was entrapped by the FRG's secret service. The accused's honest efforts to contribute to the discovery of the truth was also taken into account in the verdict.

An employee of the FRG's permament mission to the GDR attended both the trial and the announcement of the verdict.

DER MORGEN Comments on CSSR Situation

LD2311094189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0412 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] [no dateline as received] How the images resemble each other. If we hadn't experienced it ourselves in our country only a few weeks ago, we could still marvel at the duplication of events. Did matters have to go so far in the CSSR in view of the changes in Hungary, Poland, and the GDR? Yes. State systems shaped and dominated by Stalinism develop panic-stricken anxieties about reform the longer they exist. The people, under coercion, are courageously forcing reforms. The system is also demonstrating its method here. First of all the Chinese card is played. Truncheons rain down on the demonstrating people....

Let us not forget, therefore, despite all the problems in our country, our own recent and more distant history. Let us give our southern neighbors courage for restructuring, just as we need it ourselves. Let us think of our own, inglorious role in 1968, when GDR troops also stamped on a small seedling of renewal and democracy at that time during the invasion of the CSSR.

The Czechoslovakian events once again hold a warning mirror up to us: There cannot be a state against the people! The demonstrating people in the CSSR should be sure of our solidarity, for in a future European house we must be able to look all our neighbors straight in the eye.

Krenz in Favor of Abolishing Article 1

LD2411101289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0439 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—"We are not a corrupt party," said Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] General Secretary Egon Krenz in an interview to NEUES DEUTSCHLAND published today. "Many honest comrades have been offended and believe their ideals have been betrayed by the old party leadership." These party members are now often unjustly exposed to false accusations and slander.

Mistakes must be uncovered, their causes eliminated, and reliable guarantees created to prevent what has happened from ever happening again, said Krenz. He spoke out in favor of trying those who have violated the law. Whoever failed morally must answer to the party and to the people.

Regarding the unity of the party, the general secretary said: "We must never again allow what we consider the vitally important principle of unity to be misused and to be concentrated resignedly on one person or on a small group of persons. Criticism and self- criticism must again belong to the basic norms of the party. Thus, the entire truth must truly be exposed. Which mistakes were made by individual people? Which mistakes were made by the old Politburo? Which mistakes were made by the Central Committee?

Regarding the causes of the present situation, Krenz said they had not succeeded in breaking away from the Stalinist past and the command system in favor of a democratic socialism. "In the GDR this burdensome system became increasingly oppressive over the past years. It is from this, above all, that many fundamental questions and ultimately the crisis in our society stem."

The general secretary mentions various reasons for the resignation of many disappointed comrades from the party ranks: "Some are embittered by the fact that they were for so long lied to by their leadership regarding the situation in the country and the realities of party policy. They are embittered by not being taken seriously and by having their views discounted. They have lost much of their confidence in the party. Others are hesitant in agreeing with the goals of the party, with its renewal, with the action program, and with the radical renewal of socialism. Still others probably stood by us only as long as all was quiet, everything seemed to run smoothly, and they expected advantages. Under those circumstances it is not difficult to support the party. Now that a storm is raging and steadfastness is called for its seems they do not have the strength. But the most important point is probably trust; new trust must be won through the renewal of our party."

It is also notable, however, said Egon Krenz, that new forces are coming to the party and young comrades are, to a greater extent, occupying responsible posts.

The SED favors abolishing Article 1 of the Constitution, which sets out the leading role of the party, Krenz said in the interview. "The way in which a party proceeds with the development of society is not announced in laws or declarations, but can only result from work, performance, and attitude. Our party will take shape and set itself tasks in this sense."

The SED favors separating party, state, and the economy. "We have stated that not only Article 1, but the entire GDR Constitution must be changed. We advocate the People's Chamber as the highest people's representation and the government, which answers to it, and it alone, should never again have its sovereign rights curtailed by 'Head starts' on the part of the party leadership. That applies also to the economy."

The demand that the SED should not "interfere" in society, that is, public life, is another matter, said the general secretary. "Here one must clearly state that we will interfere as far as we can and with great vigor; mainly because we represent a considerable section of the population, especially the working class."

Regarding the attitude toward perestroyka and glasnost in the past years, Egon Krenz said "the cross-fertilization in socialist restructuring could have been incomparably greater for the Soviet Union and the GDR if the signs of the time had been recognized and corresponding conclusions had been drawn here. In this sphere too, we see today how hard life's punishment is for those who turn a deaf ear to the life's demands. This also has something to do with the dictates of sheer common sense, which we have to bring more strongly to bear in the renewal of socialism as a whole, internally and externally."

Krenz supported a constructive-critical, multilateral, and complex attiude toward current problems of development.

Regarding questions concerning internal party work, the general secretary pointed out that in line with the proposals and petitions concerning changing the SED statute, the principles for calculating membership subscriptions should in general be reduced, though on a differentiated basis. At the forthcoming kreis [district] delegate conferences, a balance sheet should be drawn up on the revenue and expenditure of the district executives. The same would occur at the extraordinary party congress with regard to the party's total budget. Krenz referred to the strived-for restructuring of the party apparatus and the associated reduction in staff numbers.

Further on Krenz

AU2411120589 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 1000 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] GDR state and party leader Krenz has advocated the cancellation of Article 1 of the GDR Constitution, which defines the leading role of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]. The party will never again restrict the sovereign rights of the People's Chamber and the government by fixed targets, Krenz stated in an interview for the SED organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND published today. His party will nevertheless continue to actively participate in the country's affairs, not only because the SED is representing a considerable part of the population, he stated. The state and party leader announced an—as he put it—unsparing discussion of mistakes at the extraordinary SED congress next month. It has to be openly stated for which failures individual members of the old Politburo or Central Committee are to blame. Krenz added literally that persons who have violated the law must be brought to trial.

Party Expels Mittag, Disciplines Honecker

LD2311194389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1900 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Central Party Control Commission (ZPKK) met, chaired by its chairman, Politburo member Werner Eberlein. It prepared for the extraordinary party congress and carried out party disciplinary procedures. As was announced to ADN, the ZPKK had a series of questions, demands, and motions before it to carry out disciplinary procedures against comrades who have committed serious violations of party statutes and bear responsibility for the party's current situation in the country.

The ZPKK carried out disciplinary procedures against Guenter Mittag and expelled him from the party. Disciplinary procedures were initiated against Erich Honecker. The Control Commission noted the announcement by Erich Honecker's doctors that his current state of health means he is unfit to be called to account and cannot make any statements.

Further Expulsions

LD2311205789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1931 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The Socialist Unity Party of Germany's [SED] Central Party Control Commission [ZPKK] met today under the chairmanship of Werner Eberlein, Politburo member and commission chairman. [passage omitted]

Disciplinary procedures were carried out against Hans Albrecht, a Central Committee member and former first secretary of the Suhl Bezirk [area] Executive of the SED, as well as Dieter Mueller, Central Committee candidate member, Karl-Marx-Stadt. The ZPKK recommended to the Central Committee the expulsion of Hans Albrecht and Dieter Mueller from the Central Committee and from the party.

The ZPKK noted that the Politburo agreed to the proposal to recognize Walter Janka's party membership as being continuous from 1930. The decision made in 1957 to expel him from the party was based on false accusations. Walter Janka has been a member of the SED again since 1972.

Above and beyond this, the ZPKK dealt with further motions to carry out disciplinary procedures against accused party members and functionaries. In this, they stated that any prejudgment is not allowed in the procedures and that a correct and objective investigation must be guaranteed. The Central Party Control Commission regards it as its task to see to it that the truth is ascertained in each individual case, which, at the same time, means protecting those who have been unjustly accused and defamed up to legal moves against the slanderers.

Modrow Addresses People's Chamber

LD1711102389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 0818 GMT 17 Nov 89 pp 3-5

[Government statement delivered by GDR Council of Ministers Chairman Hans Modrow to GDR People's Chamber in Berlin following introduction by People's Chamber President Guenther Malenda]

[Text] Mr president, esteemed deputies. On 13 November you elected me as Council of Minister chairman and commissioned me to form the GDR Government. I thank you for this trust and ask you above all to support the new government in every way. This government, which I will propose to you after previous consultation with the political parties forming it, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], Christian Democratic Union [CDU], Democratic Peasant Party of Germany [DBD], Liberal Democratic Party of Germany [LDPD], and the National Democratic Party of Germany [NDPD], is a coalition government, a newly understood creative political alliance. This is also shown by the position statements from these parties.

The government wants to do everything so that the entire public's democratic renewal, which has just commenced, gains and maintains deep roots. The government wants this so everything, so the urgently needed stablization, reaches our economy and so the social product is again increased in real terms. All the parties and organizations represented in the National Front and in the churches and in the many interest groups should contribute their views and advice to this. This also applies for the Sorbs in our country. The democratic renewal, a multifaceted, contradictory, and furious process, has been begun by hundreds of thousands of the people, who truly expressed their opinions and have taken to the streets. The will for renewal of the socialist society and its state has embraced millions of citizens and has become a political force in this way; political parties and social groups have emerged self-confidently. This government will be obliged to the GDR people, which wants a good socialism. That means, however, more than employment for all and secure housing for all and good shopping for all, although this of course means much. A better socialism, that must bring opportunities for all to create a life for themselves which is colorful, rich in content, which allows individuality to bloom and enables comradeship in the collective instead of infighting.

Individuality is what we should respect here, I believe. Political and ideological tolerance are indispensable elements of this. A socialism which can develop into a achievement-oriented society only through the work of its citizens, should be able, according to its economic results, to provide social security for all citizens. Thus, we ask all citizens to support this government. We need those who are prepared to do so, to place their trust in us in advance. I know I am asking a great deal here. Therefore, I want to make it clear: This government will make only those promises which it can really keep. Therefore, it asks every worker to achieve as much as possible in their work, swiftly and much more efficiently, every hour and for every mark they are paid. It is our duty to create the framework conditions necessary for this.

We recognize the achievements of the workers over the past decades. Today the determination is stressed repeatedly to preserve what has been achieved through hard work, not to give anything up, not to let the efforts of all the difficult years blow away in a puff of smoke. On the contrary, this essential character, the great property of the people, in industry and in the other sectors of the economy, should be used and made more efficient. To bring the GDR economy out of crisis, to give it stablity and growth incentives, is now the most important task facing the government and one which we will tackle within our own area of competence. We are responsible to the People's Chamber, and we must account to them. We see this as accounting to the people. Everyone who wants to help us in this task is welcome to do so. Everyone who knows the essential value of a functioning economy, and surely everyone does, should prove this knowledge with action. Only an economically strong state is in a position to do a great deal for the citizens. Only an economically powerful state can make ecological progress.

Only through economic efficiency can the standard of living be maintained, and, when we have achieved what is necessary, be raised. These seeming self-evident truths are the basic pillars of the government policy, because we are very serious about the economy, as we are about democracy. This is the clear renunciation of earlier limitations in the work of the government, of previous tutelage, of autocratic ordering of the economy, which harmed the economy, by former SED Central Committee [CC] Politburo member Guenter Mittag. There are also applications by People's Chamber party groups, which are accepted by the People's Chamber, to investigate abuses of office and of power in the time—as it was said—of the former party and state leaders. I welcome the decisions; we should give a signal through this. These facts are clear: The national economic plans were not balanced honestly; the competition of the bezirk [area] collectives was sometimes directed towards unrealistic goals; trade union participation was robbed of its democratic character. Through biased and autocratic investment policy, the disproportions between final and supply industry have considerably increased and the state of the fund of fixed assets has noticeably deteriorated. The planned production performance between 1986 and 1990 remains some way behind the goals, as do the anticipated receipts of the state budget. The sums earmarked for consumption and for social policy have been reached or even exceeded, whereby the ratio of purchasing power to saleable goods has consistently deteriorated. The continued raising of credits at banks in capitalist countries has also gone beyond what the GDR can afford, which led to strong foreign trade strain, having a negative effect on the domestic market and also the investment possibilities. The media was unable to represent these facts and circumstances, because the journalists only had at their disposal facts which were embellished, falsified, or unsuitable for analysis. Most who attempted to reveal the truth failed, or were prevented. The truth was even kept, all too often, from the people's representatives.

It is precisely in view of all these facts that other maxims will be valid for this government, namely those estimated by the people as virtues: openness and honesty, law and order, faithful behavior, modesty and thrift, expert competence instead of slogans or racy expressions. What is demanded in the factory of every working person must also be valid for the government, for the state organs as a whole: quality work. Where this is not achieved it can and must be demanded by the citizens, with emphasis and in public.

Esteemed deputies, we all are experiencing in these days a fascinating, truly moving process. The majority of the citizens is politicized in the best way, is showing an alert, or awakening political consciousness and self-confidence. Hundreds of thousands, even millions, have started to use the new travel possibilities, to see relatives or acquaintances in the FRG or West Berlin, or to simply have a look around there. The great majority return as if it were self-evident, to their homeland, animated and often motivated to stay, live, and work in the GDR. Whoever does not see this opening of the borders, a historic process at which the entire world is looking, as an irrefutable proof of the irreversible change in politics and life in the socialist GDR, that person is blind or malicious.

The democratic and, in the best sense of the word, popular changes which have taken place here after 7 October 1989 are irreversible. The people will sweep anyone aside who dares to attempt to re-establish the old conditions. One should then cease, where this is still the case, to sue for further steps, to demand further preconcessions from the GDR. At the same time we see two problems. Firstly, the temporary absence of many working people at their place of work. They are using the freedom of travel without seeing the necessity of creating the material foundations of our life constantly and reliably. An initial exuberance is understandable, but we can afford less than ever before a loss of work, which increases the economic problems and therefore affects us all. The pain threshold has already been crossed in vital areas because of the emigrations, which have not yet ceased. We will seek to fill the gaps and find solutions, but we appeal at the same time to all citizens who have their homes in the GDR not to endanger further, through rashness, the functioning of the economy and public services.

On the other hand, the opening of the GDR's borders must not lead to an economic and currency bloodletting with long-term effects. It is still too early for the necessary thorough analysis of the changes introduced on 9 November, but I stress that the GDR's stability is a condition of Central Europe's stability. Yes, in Europe. For this reason it is in the interests of at least all of the GDR's neighbors not only to generously view the change in our state but also to promote it politically and economically. In this connection I greet the meeting between State Council Chairman Egon Krenz and Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl and add that the GDR Government is ready to discuss all questions that are in its purview.

This offer also applies to politicians and economic politicians of the FRG as well as other European countries who are considering involvement in the GDR's economy, who wish to test such involvement or have proposals for it. I would like to say to them, and above all to the GDR's citizens, our economy has problems, our material resources are limited at the moment, its proportions must be clearly improved, its basic means must be modernized in many areas, but our socialist state's national economic substance is powerful enough and resilient enough to stabilize in the foreseeable future, in order to reach the necessary upsurge from better positions. This is also a challenge to former GDR citizens who wish to return. Let no one coming home be put off by spite or false shame because of the saying, "What will our former colleagues and neighbors say?" Whoever wishes a new beginning for our new conditions in the old homeland, is welcome as a fellow citizen and fellow fighter. Everyone can and should roll up their sleeves here, now it is worth the effort.

For the GDR's working people, this government, which is based on a broad political alliance, would like to repeat a word, which is to be heard these days in a similar way from exemplary workers: Join all those who want to achieve and who do achieve. This is not the time to go easy in your own interests. Whoever wants to advance must help so that we all advance. In this way and only in this way will your own interests be served.

Ladies and gentlemen, the government program includes reforms such as have been proposed, demanded, and sketched out by the parties and other social forces and by many citizens. I will confine myself to referring to well-known necessities and reinforcing the principle that we must proceed gradually, in conjunction with all political forces in the country, swiftly but not hastily, after orderly analysis and discussion, open discussion. I consider the important things to be: first, reform of the political system together with legislative measures to strengthen the rule of law and legal security. In particular, this includes electoral law, legislation on the Council of Ministers, and a media law. Proposed amendments to criminal law can follow fairly quickly. The travel law, possibly also called the pass law, must be submitted after discussion. Second, an economic reform must be designed to raise the autonomy of the economic units and to significantly increase their performance, to reduce the central direction and planning to the required reasonable level, and, perhaps the most complex task, to increasingly implement the principle of work performance. I propose that the economic reform be defined in its content and stages through special discussion of the People's Chamber and its committees, and through consultation with experts. The careful, unprejudiced examination of the subsidies and prices policy is a particular duty in this context. Third, educational reform is needed. Apart from scientific ideas on this, it seems to me that the best practicing teachers of our country have already, in their own sectors, gone further than the initial reform which turns to the schoolchildren and students and asks them not to be afraid to give their opinions.

Fourth, we need a program drawn up on a long-term basis, to be achieved and reexamined from year to year, with the aim of bringing economy and ecology into line more than has been the case previously. I would like to add that the GDR is not so bad in this area as we had feared as a result of unnecessary secrecy. No one can in future be allowed to be silent on or to delay planned environmental measures.

A new energy concept which leads to a reduction in fossil energy resources and input of energy is urgently required.

Fifth, [we need] administrative reform designed to democratize state management and administration, to make the state's work more easily comprehensible, and not least, to considerably reduce financial and personnel allocations into administrative tasks. It is obvious that following this it must be ensured that an increase in input must be prevented. This will release staff of the state apparatus for other tasks. They will be employed as far as possible in line with their desires, under full observance of the right to work and in accordance with their qualifications, a process which cannot be introduced and implemented within a few months. This applies equally to the reduction of administrative personnel in the economy, and of organizations and institutions. The establishment of a government commission for this should be considered. Staff who have so far fulfilled their task diligently and with circumspection should be supported in such a way that they can assume work which they can reasonably be expected to do. As is known there is no shortage of rewarding work in the GDR.

The new Council of Ministers is required to work in line with the principle of the mutuality of consultation and individual responsibility for their respective spheres. It must ensure in general and in each ministry an exact and realistic analysis of the situation, which serves as a starting basis for current decisions. It must work on a long-term and conceptional basis, naturally drawing on recognized experts.

It will serve the new stipulation of the tasks and working methods of the Council of Ministers if we propose reducing the number of government members from the hitherto 44 to 28. This will make the work easily comprehensible, facilitate coordinated decisions, and reduce expenditure on management and administration.

It is clear that the government must lead the way with good examples here. Accordingly I propose, in coordination with the parties represented in the People's Chamber, the election of the following members of the Council of Ministers:

Hans Modrow, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers (SED);

Professor Dr Christa Luft, deputy chairwoman of the Council of Ministers for the Economy (SED);

Dr Peter Moreth, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers for Local State Bodies (LDPD);

Lothar de Maiziere, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers for Church Questions (CDU);

Dr H.C. Gerhard Schuerer, chairman of the State Planning Commission (SED);

Now, the ministers:

Dr Kurt Singhuber, minister of heavy industry (SED);

Prof Dr Karl Gruenheid, minister of engineering (SED);

Dr Guenter Holm, minister of the light industry (NDPD);

Dr Klaus Wolf, minister of posts and telecommunications (CDU);

Heinrich Scholz, minister of transport (SED);

Manfred Flegel, minister of trade and supply (NDPD);

Prof Dr Gerhard Baumgaertel, minister of construction and the housing economy (CDU);

Dr Hans Watzeck, minister of agriculture, forestry and the food industry (DBD);

Dr Hans Reichelt, minister of environmental protection and water economy, DBD;

Prof Dr Peter-Klaus Budig, minister of science and technology, LDPD;

Uta Nickel, minister of finances and prices, SED;

Hannelore Mensch, minister of labor and wages, SED;

Dr Gerhard Beil, minister of foreign trade, SED; I ask for your understanding, Dr Beil is on a foreign trip in Japan, but will be present tomorrow for the conclusion of the People's Chamber;

Oskar Fischer, minister of foreign affairs, SED; [applause]

Theodor Hoffmann, minister of national defense, SED;

Dr Hans-Joachim Heusinger, justice minister, LDPD;

Dr Wilfried Possner, minister of education and youth, SED. The FDJ supports him, that is a difference, that is a good sign;

Dr Dietmar Keller, minister of culture, SED;

Lothar Ahrendt, minister of internal affairs, SED;

Prof Dr Klaus Thielmann, minister of health and social services, SED;

Prof Dr Bruno Benthien, minister of tourism, LDPD;

Dr Wolfgang Schwanitz, head of the office for national security, SED;

Wolfgang Meyer, government spokesman and head of the Press Office, SED.

It is still necessary to submit at the next People's Chamber meeting a proposal for participation in the CMEA by a Council of Ministers representative.

Allow me to make statements on individual areas so that our intentions, particularly the important ones, are more clear.

As our economic structure has gotten out of balance, the government regards it as its urgent responsibility to take measures to stabilize the economy. First, it is necessary to stabilize material production. It is urgently necessary to create better conditions in the enterprises where the rhythm of work often stutters through lack of materials and hold-ups and lack of cooperation and spare parts. We also ask all working people in their own enterprises to tackle those problems with their trade unions and enterprise management which they can solve themselves, even if by unconventional means. The aim is economic results and for this, continuity of production is the decisive starting condition. The solution of the press supply problem is only possible by greater performance in the supply industry. This should be stimulated morally and materially better than before. Also decisive for the economy's functioning is the railway workers and the other working people in the transportation sector. I have just been told today that there is an enormous quantity of passenger traffic under way; everyone knows the context. We ask all those employed in the transport sector to tackle these tasks.

In all work areas preconditions must be created for stable production under winter conditions, whatever these conditions are.

The employees of the ministries should go to the grass roots to deploy their entire strength for the continuity of production. The government will see to it that the necessary decisions for an improvement in the material-technical supply of production enterprises will be made. In this connection thanks and recognition must be expressed to the many office workers, employees of social organizations and not least the members of the Army, the protection and security forces, who were deployed on site in order to solve national economic tasks. Certainly, not all possibilities of using forces from administrations have been tapped with this. It is important for all working people in every enterprise.

The attainment of the national economic plan for 1989, in accordance with the contracts concluded, is the best starting position for the coming year. The national economic plan for 1990 must also be under the sign of stabilization. As the State Planning Commission reports, it is at present not yet possible to balance the plan draft, above all regarding the relations with the non-socialist economic area. It is the task of the State Planning Commission and the ministries to incorporate all materially possible changes in the available draft for the plan for 1990, changes which result from the 11th session of the People's Chamber and the proposals of its parliamentary groups.

In the combines, enterprises, establishments and territories, the prepared national economic requirements are to be quickly handed over as state orientation figures by the State Planning Commission and the ministries. How these national economic requirements may be met, which should, if possible, be higher than the proposals presented by them in August. In this situation every initiative, good idea and purposeful action counts double and three times. Taking these circumstances into account the government will put forward for discussion to the People's Chamber the national economic plan for 1990. We rely everywhere on top performances. Only in this way are economic reforms possible.

Second, measures must be worked out to stabilize the supply to the population. It is in particular a matter of quickly effective measures to increase production of consumer goods, above all goods in daily use.

All possibilities for the extension of the supply of goods and services should be opened up, including through the promotion of trade and industry enterprises. We recognize the socialist entrepreneurial spirit. This applies not only to the enterprise and combine directors of the socialist economy, but also to all private enterprises, the crafts, and even the retail and catering trades. We consider the takeover of small enterprises by private industrialists in consumer goods production, though not only there, to be possible. It is necessary to reflect together upon the size of such enterprises. More latitude should be given in this area to the economic effects of supply and demand and to a correspondingly flexible price fixing. For a long time now there have been indications by craftsmen and small businessman of obstacles standing in the way of their initiatives. With the chamber of handicrafts and the parties of our government coalition, examination should be initiated into what can be changed immediately, and decisions must be made in the near future. In general, one can say that the taxation law must be amended so that high performance is encouraged and fairness and clarity in taxation guaranteed to the citizens. Possibilities for foreign currency entitlements in the management of foreign currency ressources must be considered. An important and reliable contribution to the supply of foodstuffs to the people and of raw materials to the economy will be made by the cooperative farmers and workers of the agricultural, forestry, and foodstuffs economy. We are in agreement with the many proposals of the DBD, the Peasants Mutual Aid Association, and particular the collectives of the agricultural producer cooperatives, state farms and other enterprises, that the possibilities for this should be better exploited.

It is just as valuable to consistently raise the quality of all agricultural products as it is to offer a wide variety. This could counteract the excessive consumption of foodstuffs, which would be very harmful to the people's health, as the health conference has emphasized most emphatically. In this respect priority must also be accorded to improved provision of fruit and vegetables. In the agricultural and foodstuffs economy there has also been delays in the development of their material-technical basis, particularly in livestock farming and in meat and milk production and cold storage. For the proportional development of this sector, and to avoid losses, it is necessary to ensure the required development of agricultural and foodstuffs engineering and of refrigeration technology.

To the stabilizing of the internal market also belong measures designed to prevent the mass buying up of goods, particularly subsidized goods, by particular foreign tourists and speculators. In connection with the new travel regulations it is also necessary to take measures to protect our currency and to counter speculation with money and goods. A working group has been set up which is preparing, at short notice, relevant proposals for the Council of Ministers. It has been laid down as a guideline for this working group to submit proposals and measures that do not adversely affect GDR citizens, but exclusively aim to prevent speculative exploitation of existing price and exchange rate differences. The envisioned further steps to introduce wages geared to production ought not lead to a general wage increase but should stimulate higher performance within the framework of the wage fund. We will give the enterprise directors the right, within the framework of the planned wage fund, to decide payment of the working people in accordance with performance, in which workers and all the forces in the scientific and technical area and masters are to be included, in agreement with the BGL [plant labor union executive board]. Where the planned or higher performance is achieved with fewer staff members it should be possible to use part of the saved wage fund for these greater performances.

We will regulate this in agreement with the trade union through judicial measures. We also aim to take corresponding measures for the agricultural producer cooperatives, horticultural producer cooperatives, and the enterprises of the agriculture, forestry, and foodstuffs sector.

All citizens who have their money in savings accounts are guaranteed the security of their deposits by the government.

Third, measures for the stabilization of the state finances are part of the improvement of the economic situation.

The Finance Ministry believes it is not presently possible to balance the budget for 1990. There is an income deficit of around 15 billion marks. The Finance Ministry has as yet no adequate proposals to balance this. The new government must therefore submit itself to the difficult task of once again calculating both sides of the budget, income, and expenditures of all types.

It is also clear the too-low income results above all from the economy's insufficiently balanced performance development. That is not the only reason. The costs for many a research project are too high, measured by their use. Many investments are too expensive and do not bring enough economic advantage. In many places production costs have risen and not always for objective reasons. Enterprises working at a loss burden our national economic account just as much as too many stocks of high value lying idle. Waste, too-high administrative costs, and senseless investments for cut flowers or newspaper advertisements for example, lead to disproportions, between consumption and performance.

To untangle this, we need specialist knowledge and perspective, not least taking up the many pieces of information on the waste of state funds and too-high administrative expenditure.

Fourth, steps to stabilize our foreign economic relations are required. I stress, foreign economic stability is a vital question for the entire GDR economy, a question of survival. To do justice to the requirements, industry and foreign trade must adapt to changed conditions. As in the USSR and the other socialist countries, it is a matter of preparations for the EC internal market and for other parts of the world. Cooperation with the Soviet Union is a decisive guarantee for the further development of our national economy. In trade and cooperation with the USSR, undivided attention, commencing with adherence to treaties, is therefore needed. The GDR is striving for an extension and deepening as well of foreign economic relations with the socialist countries while preserving mutual economic interests, and we will have to adapt thereby to new conditions, which result from economic reforms.

In trade with the non-socialist economic area, we hold fast to the principle of mutual advantage.

We are interested in extending exports and imports and expanding cooperation and other forms of cooperation with capitalist firms. The GDR is open to proposals from capitalist partners, which have so far been treated cautiously in our country or have fallen on deaf ears. Joint ventures, participation in investment, profit transfer, and pilot projects in environmental protection are no longer foreign concepts in the GDR. That means that in the interests of raising our economy's performance the GDR Government is willing to promote cooperation with firms from the Western industrialized countries so that more and better products are at the disposal of foreign and domestic trade. We know this result must be to our mutual interest.

We are counting on constructive cooperation to utilize without delay all the possibilities for our foreign economic activity. We will improve the preconditions for contacts and information at all levels, from the enterprise to the organs of economic management.

The demands made on imports, the demands made on tourism, especially the expectations of the citizens linked with the new travel possibilities, cannot currently be met to the desired degree. A gradual improvement of this situation is only possible through raising the export strength and through export surpluses. Therefore, the immediate and urgent task is to meet all export treaties and to create the conditions for the vitally important import of raw materials, consumer goods, machinery, and equipment for 1990 through further treaties.

Esteemed deputies! This is not the time to discuss an economic strategy for the 1990s with great speeches, but we will consider all the ideas already submitted on this as well as future proposals from all political parties and groups.

They are valuable to us for the projection of the GDR's economic and social development in the coming years, undoubtedly a complex task for the solution of which we are dependent on the advice of many capable persons.

After all, at stake is the redefining of structural and social policy, the unity of the economy and ecology, a deeper international economic integration, and much more.

Undoubtedly urban development policy must also be regarded as an important task for the government and must be translated into practical terms in direct contact with our country's citizens. We should implement the proposal to establish a government working group for social policy and urban development and instruct it to draft effective steps in this sphere. Ideas from architects and urban developers on this have long been on the table. We should make use of them.

I will only mention key words here, the bezirke and kreise [district] must be able themselves to more intensively administer their capacities. It is a matter of maintaining housing construction, of linking more closely residence space management and residence space distribution. It should be possible to buy apartments and your own home from public property and to adopt the large residential blocks into collective use.

The necessity must be examined to establish an effective state body for women's affairs, and for family and social policy, which can work analytically and with a view to the future. Essential is an improvement in the position of pensioners. A draft for a future pension reform must be prepared. Help for people of every age who are in need of care must be expanded, just as the integration of the handicapped. Here the representative bodies for all the handicapped now being formed can give valuable advice and support. The existing conditions for the development of the families should be shaped in a way that creates greater variety, so that women and men can better carry out their responsibilities. The new government should support the striving of women for a quality of equal rights between the sexes, which is in line with modern socialism and should back a greater representation of women in politics, state, and the economy.

A major cultural backlog in our society, despite notable achievements by the GDR particularly in this area, is the failure in practice to give women equal standing. To the many requirements for changing this belong thoughts about quotas perhaps for the composition of the People's Chamber and the Council of Ministers.

In local affairs social policy is put into practice, above all, when the local representative bodies take joint decisions with the citizens on the use of means and capacity and on the creation of new institutions.

A word on economic reform which, this is our proposal, should be discussed separately by the People's Chamber as soon as the government has put forward viable proposals, which also allow one to make out a chronological sequence of individual stages.

From the position papers of all the political parties in our coalition there emerges the agreement that economic reform does not mean scrapping of planning, but the new government should be guided in its economic reform equally clearly by making the market, with its goods-money relations, an organic component part of the socialist planned economy: Not planning without market, not market economy instead of planned economy. Life points us toward a socialist economic system, in which planning and market are so linked that in all the branches of our economy there can be production without centralized planning bureaucracy, efficiently, and for the needs of the citizens, the economy and a foreign trade which brings a good yield. This will place our socialist society on firmer footing and bring the necessary income for the state budget.

In the first place it is necessary to give the enterprises and combines room to maneuver. They need a field for independent decisions on their own responsibility, they need the possibility not only to produce the means for the amortization of the fixed asset fund and the expanded reproduction but to be able to apply them extensively on their own competence, and that means also being able to realize them materially. Financial and material processes must be brought into harmony for this, because with money alone not much can be achieved, as is well known. The contribution of the enterprises to society is to be measured by what they sell on the internal and external markets and acquire in proceeds, by what they really contribute to the growth of national income. The economic reform must lead to a fundamental renewal of the socialist planned economy, to a democratization of the planning. This requires a new position of the enterprises in the economic system, namely so shaped that they fully unfold themselves as socialist producers of goods, they can fully take their responsibility in the market, and that the economic accounting is fully applied. In accordance with this, the role of the combines, as an important form of the economic organization, must be determined anew. The in-house production of rationalization equipment must be thought through in accordance with economic criteria.

It is necessary to achieve an economy which is open to scientific and technological progress, which challenges it in cooperation between production and science in a new way.

Democratization of planning demands that the drafting of plans should truly begin in the enterprises. They must proceed on the basis of social requirements and be expressed in national economic orientation quantities and state orders—but, above all, in economic and trade contracts. Production and sales plans must be based on contracts.

Therefore, economic reform means shaping economic construction anew from bottom to top. That necessitates a new character and a new role for central planning. It should be concentrated on balanced national economic proportions and interlacings, on an effective national economic structure of production with increasing division of labor, on the elaboration of long-term strategies for economic and social development which correspond to ecological conditions—for provision of raw materials and power sources, for instance—and on stable state finances on the basis of balanced proportions of disposable income and available commodites. The system for drawing up balances must be divested of its administrative apportioning function and brought back to its actual role—that of finding, preparing, and supporting proportional and rational solutions for contract-based interaction by economic units.

With a new understanding of the relationship between autonomous economic units and a central management and planning system orientated according to basic processes, there must also be a redefinition of monetary, financial, and credit relations and of price-setting. Prices must reflect the economically justified expenditure and exert pressure on reducing costs. Net profits must become much more something which tips the scales and give directions toward efficient production which matches requirements.

With the economic reform, we will endeavor to develop the economic and material and technical conditions for the agricultural and foodstuffs sectors in such a way that stable production of agricultural output and its processing are ensured with high effectiveness. This includes the further development of the forces of cooperative ownership, especially cooperative democracy, and methods of distribution.

Farmers should decide more comprehensively for themselves in their agricultural production cooperatives on the most expedient forms of organization, cooperation, and combination of production. In this way the self-management of cooperatives should be further developed and complete control over the results of their labor for accumulation and consumption according to the principle of work performance, on the basis of economic norms, guaranteed.

The councils for agriculture and foodstuffs should be released from dependency on the kreis councils.

They should be corporate bodies of the agricultural producer cooperatives, horticultural producer cooperatives, state farms and other enterprises and establishments of the agriculture and foodstuffs industry.

The government will see to it in all economic areas that state tasks are limited to the main results, that the role of economic contracts is raised, that economic norms are more intensively applied, and that investments are put in order in the long term.

The responsibility of the local people's representations is to be increased as is the councils' responsibility for the complex economic and social development in the territory. They should decide autonomously on the deployment of the total funds established by means of the national economic plan for the respective territory. Above all, they must have their own sources of income at their disposal.

The economic reform will not be a single act. Its working out must be done by comprehensive communal labor. Many proposals from parties, scientists, and economists are also on the table for this.

We need an economic system that is flexible and capable of constant renewal. During the working out of such a reform, errors and mistakes cannot be excluded in the beginning; that must be openly said. For precisely this reason, this reform needs a public arena during discussion of the reform and also during criticism of the reform.

Clearly needed changes must be carried out immediately, for example the reduction in the superfluous plan reference numbers and the extensive reporting system as well as the abolition of many forms to be filled out by researchers and developers. This paperwork robs them of a large amount of time for creative work.

A factory or combine director should be able, in the future, to decide for himself which specialist directors he needs, if you please. The principle must apply where responsibility is given. It must also be able to be borne.

The process of the socialist society's renewal demands the political system's reform. Parties, mass organizations, churches, and new citizens' initiatives are agreed on this. The basic concern is a new socialist society in which the citizens may realize their hopes and their self-determination.

They expect, and rightly so, the socialist state should not manage them but should serve them.

This state must further the democratic changes under way, at the same time protecting peaceful coexistence, trouble-free work, and the citizens' rights and dignity. Within the framework of its competence, the government is open to all who are ready to accept responsibility within and for socialism. This is also this governing coalition's intention. We will create state and real guarantees to foster the renewal of socialism in our country and to make it irreversible. What is needed is a quality of the entire state work, which leaves room for individual responsibility and decisions on the part of the citizens, political parties and social organizations. It must become a general working style to deal openly with one another, to conduct the conflict of opinions from differing and even opposite positions and variations, to be able to take decisions which are obvious, realistic, and useful to the people. The recognition of the duty of the Council of Ministers and its members to account to the People's Chamber will help to fulfill this goal. The active interplay of parliament and government must, without blurring authority, become a political productive force. The government is and remains an organ of the People's Chamber.

Based on the proposals of all parties we consider a comprehensive administrative reform to be necessary. Its fundamental concern is a democratization of the state and economic apparatus, the increase of its expert competence and efficiency. The high expenditure on management and administration will be considerably reduced to benefit production and services for the population. Structures and working methods of the state organs must be created in such a way that the citizens can clearly recognize who is responsible for what, and who decides on their affairs.

The administrative reform begins with the Council of Ministers. The changes in the duties and composition of ministries and other central state organs are a first step. This will be followed by the process of establishing the structure and working methods, which must also prevent any inflation of the administration.

The proposals of local councils to reduce the number of full-time council members should be followed, to increase the efficiency of the management.

The administrative reform must absolutely reduce the considerable amount of planning, control, and balancing to gain more time for communal decision-making processes and for the heads and employees of the state apparatus to work closely with the citizens.

It is necessary to concentrate the labor of the Council of Ministers on basic questions and to clearly shape the responsibility of the local state organs for the development in the territories. This must lead to a rigorous reduction in the comprehensive amount of reference numbers and regulations for the deployment of local capacities and funds. The local people's representations and their councils will in the future decide largely themselves what is built and repaired in the territories or what otherwise happens in material areas.

In accordance with numerous proposals, we will also reduce the number of central and local control organs. Autonomous control by the people's representations and councils should be increased. It is clear that the new work practice of the media also opens up new possibilities to develop direct control of state work by the citizens.

With the administrative reform, the question of the effectiveness of the present political-territorial division of the state organization in kreise, city districts, city areas, towns, and communities is also on the agenda.

It is a matter, and this is what is important here, of increasing the position and function of the towns and communities, above all the cities and medium-sized towns, in the state structure. They must be able to act as a social community for the citizens. Their communal self-administration must be developed step by step.

The town deputies assemblies and communal representations and their councils need, for this, communal property and guaranteed rights of control over material and financial funds. In the future it will be in their hands to increase communal property as a form of socialist property and to deploy it for the well-being of the citizens. Factories and establishments which in the first instance perform for the citizens in a town or community and which are concentrated to a great extent at the moment on a kreis or even bezirk level, should be reallocated to the towns and communities.

At this point the government needs to warmly thank all those who are working responsibly precisely at this moment in the local organs of the state and also in the state organs at a central level.

Of great political weight is the development of the socialist state based on the rule of law. This does not mean putting a new label on the former state of affairs but a fundamental upgrading of the law in the life of society.

In the state based on the rule of law, which we want, basic and human rights will be guaranteed, and the social relations shaped on the basis of the law. We will work decisively to ensure the equality of all citizens before the law is strictly observed by the state organs. The credibility of our work depends fundamentally on this.

The government works in its understanding of the state based on the rule of law on the assumption that everything that is not expressly forbidden must be allowed to citizens. The state must only be allowed what is expressly permitted it.

For the further development of the law the Council of Ministers regards as necessary, as well as the legislative intentions named above, the preparation of a law on the freedom of association and a law on the freedom of assembly.

In our view, the alternative to military service and administrative procedures must also be regulated in law. Also necessary are legislative measures aimed at economic reform and on reform of the administration.

In the discussions and proposals made by the parties represented in the government a justified call was made for the different functions of the legislation, the executive and the jurisdiction to be established precisely and to be exactly separated from one another, to also have guarantees against the misuse of power and office. For that reason the government will lay before the People's Chamber proposals for a new version of the law on the judiciary and for the drafting of a law on judges. The Council of Ministers favors establishing a constitutional court to develop the state based on the rule of law and of introducing the necessary measures for this involving changes and supplements to the GDR Constitution.

The Council of Ministers will shortly submit to the People's Chamber for discussion and decision a legislative plan for the current priority tasks. State security and public order are fundamental conditions for the renewal of our society.

Citizens and their organizations, including the newly formed citizens movements, bear as much responsibility for this as the defense and security bodies. Recently, security partnership, even in complicated situations, has accompanied the path of renewal. Violent people have no opportunity where this functions. The investigation and thwarting of plans which endanger the peace and guaranteeing of national security will continue to be an important concern and task. The Council of Ministers unreservedly professes this basic principle: Violations of the law will be investigated and punished regardless of the personality or his official position; equality before the law is valid for all, whether in uniform or civilian dress.

New thinking on issues of public order and state security must be legally and administratively put into practice. Part of this is the formation of an Office for National Security instead of the Ministry for State Security combined with a reduction in costs.

Esteemed deputies!

The government expressly pays tribute to the constructive work of representatives of the church in the struggle for the renewal of our society. Their moderating influence in critical situations deserves respect. The GDR Council of Ministers stresses its intention to maintain constructive, businesslike, and trusting relations with the churches.

We encourage the churches to take responsibility for the future fashioning of socialist society in the GDR by independent contributions.

The renewal of socialism requires a reform of education from preschool education to higher education. The government will work on a new education law based on the results of a broad public debate and present it to the People's Chamber. In the same way we also intend to carry on the changes in higher education into a far-reaching reform of higher and vocational education.

We intend to carefully preserve everything positive that has come from decades of socialist nationalist education within the new developments. However, young people must no longer be educated to be yes men or to behave in an ambiguous manner of adaptation. However old we may be, I think, all of recall our youth and we can say: Young people want to argue and gain their positions through argument. There must be room for this.

We are calculating that teachers will bring their whole personality into a new educational culture in a good school atmosphere. We want to promote individuality and talent in such a way that the rising generations see to it, through their character and education, that we have a humane and productive socialism, and that they will thus gain greater freedom to make decisions about their own lives.

The public education system must be reshaped in such a way that achievements are stimulated and encouraged. It remains to be tested how far the autonomy of schools and their ability to establish their own identity should be enhanced within the framework of a unitary orientation.

All this requires flexibility in forms of education, differentiated school-leaving procedures—including opportunities for vocational education after leaving polytechnical secondary school early—rationally shaped and socially just transfers between stages of education and changes in preparation for higher education and opportunities for further education for all citizens.

Civic education should be shaped in such a way that it is equally acceptable to all political-philosophical and religious currents existing on the basis of our Constitution, is accepted by young people and corresponds to their aspirations to social co-responsibility in our socialist society.

Equality of opportunity in education for all, regardless of philosophy, religion, sex, social origin or nationality, is guaranteed without restriction.

Vocational training must be improved on the basis of the new syllabi.

A high level of practical and theoretical training corresponding to the rising demands being made of skilled workers must also serve this end.

Science policy, including higher education policy, merits a top- priority place in a modern socialist concept of society. It will be necessary for our whole science strategy to be thought through anew by scientists themselves. That also applies to the use made of social sciences—specifically, where it concerns a lead for social strategy. The redefinition of structural policy means the material basis for top scientific achievements will also have to be strengthened. Science policy must be geared resolutely toward processes of internationalization, the GDR's future position in a common European home and close collaboration with the scientists of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, but also intensely toward cooperation with scientific institutions in the capitalist industrial countries, especially the FRG.

The reform of the university system aims at pushing through high demands on teaching and research and on their unity. It will be planned and realized in joint work by scientists, students, and practical partners. The basic concern should be the highest scientific quality, constant renewal of teaching content as a result of research processes, flexibility and variety in the forms of teaching process, high self-responsibility, and a wide intellectual horizon of our students.

In the future the entire education system should be led as a single entity; radical dismantling of any regimentation should take place.

Concerning cultural policy, the nationalization of cultural life, the centralization of decisions, and the main obstacles to the socialist development of culture should be dismantled.

The government must determine the conditions for the development of all cultural processes. A Council of Ministers plan for the step-by-step expansion of the cultural infrastructure is needed, alongside a far-reaching decentralization of decisions on how the means for this are to be deployed. The responsibility for this should lie above all with the communes.

That should apply similarly for the absolutely necessary state promotion of the arts, sport, and other creative activities.

The government declares itself in favor of a German culture in the GDR which absorbs the international humanist legacy and which is bound into the shaping of socialist conditions worth living in.

The socialist cultural policy should promote the variety of group cultures. Recognition of the cultural identity of all ethnic, social, regional, professional groups living in the country is necessary, because it is precisely in cultural variety that an essential, to date scarcely developed, creative potential of our society lies. It needs support by the state.

The artistic policy of the government does not create art, it must promote art by means of conditions which enable its free and unhindered development. In this way, the government intends to hear and absorb the advice of the Academy of Arts, the Artists' Association, all artistic forces in our country.

In the health system as well, the new government cannot start with promises whose implementation is not yet economically assured.

But we share the concern in face of the tense situation in care areas, the unstable supply with medical material to be used, even if in this area many improvements have been achieved recently, and the bad state of equipment and construction in many health and social establishments.

In consideration of all social interests, the decision must be made on what proportion of the national income's distribution the health system should command in the future. The development of the overall quality of life, health, and, in particular, individual responsibility for a healthy personal lifestyle merit great attention, so we can raise the average life expectancy on the basis of improved medical care and prevention.

The government accepts leading medical specialists' demand that all GDR health establishments should forthwith be run uniformly. The government's responsibility is to concentrate on the health system's strategic questions. A high degree of autonomy should be guaranteed in medical institutions, as well as the recognition of territorial responsibility for them. With appropriate measures for a healthy lifestyle, the government encourages the development of citizens' physical fitness recreation activities and the athletic, competitve spirit in our younger generation.

In accordance with Article 6 of the Constitution and with the basic principles and objectives of the UN Charter, action to serve socialism, peace, international understanding and security will be the yardstick and guiding principle of this government's foreign and security policy.

The GDR will maintain and fulfill its commitments in international organizations, conventions, and treaties.

With respect for the self-assured, involved adult citizen for the comprehensive democratization of our society, and through the complete renewal of our society, we are creating new foundations for a credible foreign policy.

The GDR is opening up to the world, a world in which mutual dependence is becoming increasingly evident, in which the necessity and ability to cooperatively shape state relations to East and West, to North and South, emerge as matters of survival. We favor realism, predictability, and honesty in relations between states, of respecting differing interests, of readiness for equal cooperation and for reasonable compromises.

Our country's foreign and security policy requires democratic discussion and parliamentary debate and control.

Foreign and security policy must guarantee peace and free development for people. Internal peacefulness of our society—understood as the peaceful, militant shaping of our renewal—ensures external credibility. External peace and credibility in turn help us in renewal. To stress these elements by no means implies disregarding negative and dangerous trends of international development. Rather, we consciously consider that the arms race will continue, that the spirit of confrontation is not banned and that militarism has not given up its goals. The revival of neo- Nazism in the FRG is also a matter of concern to the world.

It is the aim of this coalition government to do everything to ensure that the GDR meets the challenges made on the socialist German state as a factor for security and stability in Europe.

The GDR Government will support a positive conclusion to the Vienna negotiations on conventional armed forces and confidence- and security-building measures in Europe. Depending on the outcome of the negotiations, we are prepared, on the basis of the principles of equality and equal security, to carry out further reductions in the People's Army with the aim of reducing the input into national defense in terms of personnel, materials, and finance.

With its dynamic policy of peace and disarmament developed in the past years, socialism in the process of renewal has given mankind fresh hope that an age without war can be achieved through real disarmament. The GDR will, based on its tradition of peace, work in a new way to help reduce the mutual capacities for attack and annihilation of the Warsaw Treaty states and NATO to such an extent that a threat which endangers existence no longer exists. Accordingly, we have to newly define our military doctorine. All the forces making up my government are in agreement on this.

The government regards national defense as a matter for the entire people and will organize it for the protection of the socialist order and peaceful life of the citizens. It will do everything to guarantee the defense capacity of the country to an adequate extent and meet its alliance obligations in the Warsaw Treaty and its responsibility in terms of peace policy.

The government regards it as necessary to redraft the military service law and introduce a civilian service by legislation.

The state border will continue to be reliably secured by the border troops. We say a cordial thank you to the Border Troops for their circumspect and responsible efforts in connection with the new travel opportunities.

The GDR Government hopes a new impetus will emerge from the summit meeting of the USSR and U.S. representatives at the start of December for the solution of international problems.

The close alliance with the USSR and the other socialist states remains a firm support for our country. We will expand and deepen the diverse relations, particularly with the USSR, in a new quality. This applies equally to the CSSR and the Polish People's Republic, our immediate neighbors.

The GDR stands by its obligations in the Warsaw Treaty. It participates with its own contributions in the collective efforts to increase its political role to ensure stability in Europe. My government will take part in a review of the situation in the CEMA and submit to the People's Chamber constructive, realistic concepts for involvement in the shaping of cooperation in the CEMA and in other socialist economic organizations. In this way we wish to help to formulate the joint tasks and gradually to tackle them.

It will be a particular concern of our government to increase our country's own individual contribution to the European peace order. The future house of Europe must be a house of common security. Linking up with realistic concepts in Western Europe we can certainly accept the term cooperative security—security as a complex web of political, economic, ecological, humanitarian relations—while pushing back military factors.

In this sense cooperation aimed at jointly mastering the problems in East and West is the required starting point for our country's policy on Europe.

Politically this involves continual dialogue and the creation of political structures of cooperation which cross the boundaries between the systems, as also regular meetings by leading personalities.

What is needed in the economy, is mutually advantageous cooperation based on equal rights involving all states and peoples with the aim in the final analysis of achieving an all-European economic area. Regarding science and technology, what is needed is exchange, division of labor, and cooperation instead of technological division.

Regarding ecology, what is needed is all-European solutions and institutions, which promote cooperation directed at this.

Culturally it is a matter of maintaining the traditions and fresh progress in European culture to which everyone brings his originality and values.

In the humanitarian field it is a matter of guaranteeing the rights and dignity of man everywhere.

In the future the GDR will work within the CSCE process in this spirit; we favor overcoming the division of Europe in this sense but not as the overcoming of the different social orders. The GDR remains deeply interested in exploiting the potential of political dialogue and mutually advantageous cooperation with all states.

This also determines our attitude toward the coming EEC single market. It is a great challenge for us, which we also understand as an opportunity. We are striving to agree cooperative relations with the European communities as soon as possible.

Stable and predictable relations beween the two German states and their further development are part of the basic prerequisites for stability and peace in Europe. In this sense the GDR has attained an achievement, which has been welcomed and supported worldwide, by opening its borders for free travel.

The path of maintaining and putting into practice the process of self-determination of the people of the GDR is also being trodden on a new basis with the aimed-for, yes, even started, reform of our political system. The GDR's legitimacy as a socialist state and as a sovereign German state will thereby be renewed. A clear rejection will be given to speculation about reunification, which is as unrealistic as it is dangerous, not by protestation but by a new reality of life in the GDR. The two German states have centuries of common history in spite of all differences in their social orders. Both sides should understand the opportunity inherent in this to give their relationship the character of qualified and good-neighborliness.

By unreservedly respecting one another, the two German states can, at the same time, create a valuable example of cooperative coexistence. The GDR Government is prepared to comprehensively expand cooperation with the FRG and to raise it to a new level. This applies to all issues: securing peace, disarmament, to the economy, science and technolocy, environmental protection, transport, posts and telecommunications, to culture, tourism and the comprehensive humanitarian area.

We support underpinning the communal responsibility of both German states with a community of treaties which goes far beyond the basic treaty and the treaties and agreements concluded to date between both states. This government is ready for talks on this.

In this way, both German states and their relations can become important pillars for the construction and development of the common European home.

In the future as well, the GDR remain linked in solidarity and a reliable partner of the states of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. It will support the justified proposals of these states for the solution of their national and social problems in just as committed a way as the efforts for peaceful settlements for seats of conflict.

The GDR supports with emphasis the peaceful and just solution of the Middle East problem. That includes a guarantee of the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people just as much as the existence of the state of Israel in secure borders. From this standpoint, the GDR supports normal relations with all states in this region.

If the GDR turns to the European continent, this does not mean it would like to withdraw from worldwide developments and the higher contribution demanded for the solution to global problems. It will cooperate in the democratization of international relations just as much as in the formation of a system of international security which includes political, military, economic, ecological and humanitarian aspects. Not least, constructive cooperation in the United Nations and its organizations remains indispensable for the GDR.

Esteemed deputies, let me say in conclusion: This government will be a government of the people and of work. It is a government of peace and socialism. We view it as a fundamental task to gain and justify the people's trust. I ask you in the name of all members of the Council of Ministers for your confidence and at the same time for your assent to the government statement.

Halle Demonstrators Demand SED Renewal

LD2211224589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1923 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Halle (ADN)—This evening thousands of Communists in the GDR city of Halle, who followed the call of their bezirk and city organizations for a rally, demanded the democratic renewal of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]. On behalf of the Committee of Antifascist Resistance Fighters, Dr Werner Tschapek appealed to the rally participants for all antifascist forces, regardless of their world view or party, to unite and repulse neo- fascist forces, which are also manifesting themselves in the GDR. The antifascist legacy, when cultivated in a truly lively way, can also constitute a platform for the renewal of the party and of socialism, he said.

Roland Clause, the new first secretary of Halle SED Bezirk organization, called on SED members and citizens to tackle decisively the revolutionary restructuring of the country. The rally of the Halle Communists was a demonstration for humane, democratic socialism, in which every citizen had his place.

10,000 Demonstrate in Erfurt for Reforms

LD2311215289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2055 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Erfurt (ADN)—Some 10,000 citizens from Erfurt demonstrated this evening for reforms and democratic changes after peace prayers in several churches. Banners read, "No resignations without accountability"; "Allow democratic movements"; "No sell-out of the GDR". Speakers from initiative groups, parties, and the churches spoke in favor of control and openness of all processes in politics and the economy by the people. There were many calls for the deletion or changing of Article 1 of the Constitution, free elections in a new form, the disbanding of Socialist Unity Party of Germany enterprise groups, or the creation of equal possibilities for other parties. New legal principles, as well as dust extraction and desulphurization systems are necessary to reduce air pollution. One representative of the initiative of female citizens called for all interested citizens to be able to participate in the next assembly of the city deputies.

Krenz Advocates 'Openness' at SED Congress

LD2211114189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1052 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The forthcoming extraordinary Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] party congress, in the words of Egon Krenz, must be one of uncompromising openness. The only chance for the SED lies in its unity. The party congress should therefore be characterized by constructiveness instead of dissent, the SED general secretary and State Council chairman said today during talks with workers in the Bergmann-Borsig enterprise in Berlin-Wilhelmsruh.

Referring to the demand for an amendment to the existing agenda for the party congress, Krenz said that he cannot make an individual decision on this. In any case, an untarnished picture of the situation in the party must be given. It is also important to find an answer to the current question of what modern socialism really means.

Egon Krenz shared the view of SED members of the Berlin large-scale concern on the need for the election of a new Central Committee. At the same time, he reemphasized his readiness to stand for election as general secretary at the extraordinary party congress. He did not enter office, Krenz said, to start upon the renewal for a period of only 4 weeks.

The party leader expressed reservations about proposals to elect the general secretary directly by the delegates at the party congress. In his view, this does not adequately rule out the possibility that the general secretary might place himself above the party and the Central Committee.

Further on Krenz

LD2211145889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1158 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The forthcoming extraordinary SED party congress must, in the words of Egon Krenz, be one of uncompromising openness. [passage omitted]

Egon Krenz confirmed the reiterated view that a position must also be made at the party congress on the question of responsibility for the situation which has arisen. But he strongly opposed all premature condemnation.

Other topics for discussion are the unsatisfactory exploitation of scientific-technical potential, the future role of the task forces, and demands relating to the forthcoming Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] election campaign. In this connection, the general secretary reaffirmed that the SED, as the party of the working class, will not allow any separation from its grass roots. There will be no withdrawal from the enterprises. This viewpoint found support among the Communists of the enterprise.

Responding to the accusation that the party will leave the road ahead to the opposition, Krenz said that the workers party must play a role in the popular movement and should not allow itself to be driven to the wall. Without the SED there can be and will be no GDR. Every day in the history of the GDR has been worthwhile, Krenz stressed in this connection. "I would like to say, in the interests in particular of our older colleagues and comrades, that the past 40 years were not in vain. But we might have achieved more if we had taken account earlier of the connection between socialism and democracy."

Egon Krenz was also questioned by workers about the fact that the recent travel regulations necessitate immediate measures for the protection of the national economy. The State Council chairman reported that the government will deal with this area on Thursday and will make the relevant decisions. He assumed that nothing would be undertaken which ran contrary to the interests of the citizens. This applies also to the announced administrative reform. It will lead to some conflicts, but no one will go without work. There is enough work in the GDR.

Politburo Proposes 'Round Table' Discussions

LD2211152189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1450 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee Politburo, in implementation of the party's action program, has submitted the proposal that the political parties united within the coalition government should meet with other political forces in the country at a "round table," it was reported to ADN.

Here, views on the new electoral law, the implementation of democratic, free elections and constitutional reform could be discussed.

Further on Talks

LD2211210589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1811 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In implementing the Socialist Unity Party of Germany's [SED's] action program, the SED Central Committee Politburo today proposed that the political parties united in the coalition government should have a roundtable discussion with other political forces of the country, a press release states. Ideas about a new electoral law, the implementation of democratic free elections and constitutional reforms, and other questions could be discussed there. A further proposal from the Politburo to the Council of Ministers envisages schools going on a 5-day week after the winter holidays and the implementation of similar stipulations for other educational establishments.

At its session, the Politburo assessed a consultation by the Central Committee Secretariat with the first and second secretaries of the party area (bezirk) executives last Monday, and discussed issues concerning preparations for the extraordinary party congress to convene 15-17 December. At the party congress, the SED will undertake a thorough review of the past with openness and honesty, and will outline its ideas for a renewal of a party which is capable of making an indispensible contribution in joint activity toward a renewed socialist republic. Egon Krenz pointed out that in the talk with the area secretaries, who described the present difficult situation in the economy and society in their areas, a demand was raised to do everything in order to ensure that the party will again increasingly take the offensive, and will on no account become separated from its grass roots—the basic organizations in enterprises and institutions.

The Politburo discussion centered on the development of the action program, for which numerous proposals have been made by the ranks of the party and the population. The party must rally around this action program, which must be continued. Stress must be laid on how the strongest party in the country envisages a future in the interests of the GDR citizens, in particular young people, and how it can meet its responsibility for the stability of the republic and for the situation in Central Europe.

According to the statement, Egon Krenz and Hans Modrow reported to the Politburo about their talks on 20 November with Minister Rudolf Seiters, head of the FRG Chancellor's Office. It states: "At the meeting it was stressed by the GDR side that the introduced reforms are irreversible, and that a broad consensus exists among the political forces to develop the GDR as a sovereign socialist state. Stability in relations between the GDR and the FRG is a decisive precondition for stability in Europe. The GDR is prepared for a comprehensive expansion of its cooperation and a new stage of relations with the FRG. The standpoint of the GDR on a series of factual questions was put forward, ranging, for example, from tourist and visitors' travel, trade, and economic relations, cooperation in various spheres, to combating drug abuse."

SED proposals on the management and public control of ADN and GDR radio and television have been submitted to the chairman of the Council of Ministers. The proposals aim at the self-responsibility of the state media and their managers in guaranteeing the freedom of information and the opinion of journalists in the framework of constitutional rights and duties. The heads of the state media are appointed by the prime minister.

One aim of the proposals is the establishment of public advisory councils which include, in the case of radio and television, representatives of parties, social organizations, associations, units, academies, and the church, and in the case of ADN, representatives of all editorial offices in the country who subscribe to the services of the news agency.

Politburo's Herger Notes 'Deep' Crisis

LD2211231289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2008 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The deep political crisis of socialism in the GDR makes it clear that the model of the political system practiced to date by the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] has shown itself, in the final conclusion, to be unviable. This was noted by SED Politburo member Wolfgang Herger this evening at a podium talk on the topic "Equal among equals? The SED in the GDR political system" in the consultation and information center in the Central Committee building in Berlin. Herger stressed that the SED was holding fast and decisively to socialism as the objective of its policies. But the dogmatic, deformed model of the political system should be changed in both theory and practice. At the core it was a matter of the connection between socialism and democracy. The loudly expressed demand that the SED retreat from its leading role as guaranteed in the Constitution was justified.

Herger named the renewal of the SED on a truly democratic basis from the grass roots up and the development of the people's representations as the sovereign state organs of power as the present main tasks. It was further a matter of the equal coexistence of all parties, organizations and citizens' initiatives, which commit themselves to social progress in the GDR, and of the communal self-administration of the towns and communities. Among the main topics were the shaping of a democratic state based on the rule of law and the maintenance of order and security.

In the course of the discussion over several hours, participants demanded a rapid and exact uncovering of the causes of the present crisis situation as well as a clear naming and condemnation of those to blame. These should defend themselves in public. For this reason, Herger's comment that Erich Honecker had declared himself in agreement in a letter with the decisions of the 9th and 10th Central Committee sessions and had relinquished his mandate in the People's Chamber was assessed as insufficient.

Council of Ministers Adopts Plan of Measures

LD2311135889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1318 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—At its meeting today, the GDR Government adopted a plan of measures for assessing the 12th session of the People's Chamber. Government Spokesman Wolfgang Meyer reported on this at an international news conference today. The plan anticipates, among other things, that measures for increasing the production of consumer goods, for guaranteeing medical care, for the material safeguarding of the health and social systems, and for the promotion of trade and industry and food enterprises should be submitted by the appropriate ministers before the end of the year.

Wolfgang Meyer described the discussion in the Council of Ministers as a reflection of the serious situation in the GDR. The discussions were based on many proposals from workers for fulfilling the tasks presented in Prime Minister Modrow's government statement to the People's Chamber and the initiatives put forward in the parliament.

Further on Council

LD2311152189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1353 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Council of Ministers will prepare a total of 40 new bills before the end of 1990, and will submit them to the People's Chamber, GDR Government spokesman Wolfgang Meyer reported in Berlin today. This legislation will concentrate on supporting the process of renewal and reform in the GDR. [passage omitted]

Government spokesman Meyer also reported that the Council of Ministers had discussed a bill which would approximate an interim position on the travel law. The government had received several tens of thousands of letters from workers collectives and social bodies on this bill, and these should be taken into account during the further discussion in the commission set up for that purpose. Public discussion of this bill will continue until 30 November, before the new draft by the Council of Ministers is submitted to the People's Chamber for discussion. [passage omitted]

Concerning the national economic and state budget plan for 1990, the government spokesman explained that in the present stage of elaboration, no draft plans could be submitted. In evaluation of the 11th and 12th People's Chamber meetings, further discussions are required with individual ministeries. The territorial organs would be given directions for introducing a new stage in the preparation of the national economic plan. The relevant preliminary decisions for guaranteeing the start of the plan on 1 January will be made.

The government also decided that beginning 5 March 1990, a 5-day week will be introduced in schools. This applies also to vocational schools.

Krenz on Opening of Brandenburg Gate

LD2311225189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2107 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Egon Krenz, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, answered questions tonight in an ARD, First German Television, interview on renewal in the GDR and on the development of relations with the FRG. Two German states are a reality of postwar history, and he assumed that people will have to live with them for a long time. Asked about a possible confederation he said: "I consider many things possible in the future." At the moment there are two concepts which must be fleshed out: A partnership of responsibility on the issues of peace and security and a partnership of treaties in bilateral relations. [passage omitted]

Asked when the Brandenburg Gate will be opened, Krenz replied that he cannot answer now. He is interested in the creation of as many border crossings as possible for the smooth running of cross-border traffic. Certain people now want symbolic actions, but he, Krenz, prefers actions for people. In the past, the Brandenburg gate not only had progressive traditions, but many negative things in German history were linked with this gate. However, in the future, it could be a symbol of coexistence and good cooperation. Whether it will come to this must be discussed with the other side. In any event, the question of opening it is still on the table. [passage omitted]

People's Chamber To Discuss Travel Law

LD2311220589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1803 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR People's Chamber Presidium session today called the highest elected body to its 13th session on December 15 at 1100. The first reading of the amended draft law on journeys abroad by citizens of the GDR—the travel law—as well as deputies' questions are at the center of the proposed agenda.

Spokesman Says Visa-Free Travel Planned

LD2311181189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1621 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Report by ADN Correspondent Frank Losensky]

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Foreign and GDR journalists' diary of events received a new regular event today—the weekly government news conference in Berlin. [passage omitted]

One of the announcements of [government spokesman Wolfgang] Meyer which caused a stir was his provisional notification of the progress made in work on the travel law. So far over 82,000 proposals and ideas have been received from the people about the first draft. The draft has been criticized for being half-hearted. It was issued at the beginning of the month. Nine other drafts have been put forward including ones by the council of the chairmen of the GDR lawyers' boards. The government spokesman said that it can be expected that the version shortly to be submitted to the legislature will not refer to the need to obtain an exit visa. Each citizen will at all times have the right to travel throughout the world and obtain a passport to that end. [passage omitted]

Government Approves New Customs Regulations

LD2311141889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1328 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The creation of a reliable customs regime at the borders to the FRG and West Berlin, and in GDR transit, was announced by GDR Government spokesman Wolfgang Meyer after today's Council of Ministers meeting. Meyer reported that from Friday, 24 November 1989, certain industrial goods, clothing, and various foodstuffs might be purchased only by GDR citizens and foreign workers working in the GDR. Personal identification papers or a similar document must be presented when making the purchase. The government decision stipulates finally that it will no longer be possible, in normal cases, to leave transit routes between the People's Republic of Poland, West Berlin, and the FRG. There must be no interruption of journeys when travelling by train.

Regulations Outlined

LD2311224589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1847 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR's Customs Administration today handed the following information to ADN:

1. When leaving the GDR, bans and restrictions on exports must be adhered to. Thus, for example, the following are subject to an export ban:

—meat and all forms of meat products;

—all forms of underwear, work clothes from textiles and leather materials;

—all kinds of shoes and hosiery;

—children's and baby clothes of all materials as well as baby wool, baby blankets, diapers, underblankets, swaddling, baby carriage covers, baby carriage accessories;

—curtains and curtain materials made of synthetic materials, bedding and bedding materials, basic and bed springs, down feathers, towels, tea towels and table cloths;

—almonds, raisins, candied lemon peel, dessiccated coconut, all kinds of spices;

—canned fruits and vegetables;

—sugar;

—domestic washing machines, gas stoves;

—wallpaper and wallpaper paste;

—photographic and movie films, both black and white and color, photographic chemicals and paper;

—porcelain from the production of the state porcelain manufacturer in meissen, the VEB [state-owned firm] "Graf von Henneberg" porcelain works, the VEB "Weimar Porzellan" porcelain works, the VEB Reichenbach/Thuringia porcelain works, and the VEB Freiberg/Saxony porcelain works;

—objets d'art, archive materials, and other items which are banned from export under the rules of the GDR on protecting its cultural wealth and its possession of scientific documents and materials, antiques and antiquarian books;

—precious metals, precious stones, semiprecious stones and pearls as well as their products;

—stamps (small amounts with low value carried as souvenirs are exempt from the ban.)

Additional bans and restrictions on export in cross-border traffic with the FRG and Berlin (West)

—fire-proof and heat-resistant glass household products of all kinds, as well as for science and technology

("Saale-Glas" from the VEB Jena Glass Works and other enterprises), goblet-shaped glass, lead crystal;

—optical appliances;

—animal and vegetable oils and fats, eggs, powdered milk, eels, asparagus.

2. Goods in which export is not banned may only be exported in the normal retail units.

3. Objects which are not subject to bans or restrictions on export can be exported duty-free up to the following limits:

—For a one-day journey up to 100 marks.

—For a journey of 2 days or more up to 200 marks.

If the value of such objects exceeds the quoted duty-free limits then duty is to be paid in accordance with the customs and duty regulations. For the majority of kinds of goods the level of duty is 100-200 percent of the retail price in the GDR.

4. On leaving the GDR with a car, fuel can be exported duty-free and without a permit in the amounts contained in the tank firmly affixed to the vehicle and up to 20 litres extra in the reserve can.

5. In general, it is not permitted to buy and export goods in the GDR during transit journeys. The sole exceptions to this are provisions for the journey and the usual souvenirs.

6. The export and import of GDR marks is forbidden in accordance with currency regulations.

On journeys to other states and to Berlin (West) GDR citizens may take up to 300 marks with them.

The amount taken which is in particular conceived for their first expenses after returning may be used at airport cafeterias in the GDR, in the sleeping and restaurant cars run by Mitropa, on GDR ships, and in buses with refreshments and can be changed to a certain limit at the permitted banking institutions in CMEA countries.

Other uses of GDR marks is not permitted.

New Forum Concerned About Open Border Abuse

LD2311091289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0828 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Berlin New Forum has issued an appeal to all citizens in view of the speculation and horse-trading following the opening of the borders to the FRG and to West Berlin. Under the central idea of "don't take part in the sell-out of our country," the people are urged: "Do not do any moonlighting, do not sell any works of art or subsidized goods, do not exchange GDR marks at exorbitant rates—the same GDR marks will later empty our shelves."

The appeal, signed by four spokespersons of the Berlin New Forum, calls upon all citizens to develop "initiatives for filling gaps in the market in our country, wherever possible with our own means."

Prohibited Land, Sea Zones Reopened

LD2411030189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1635 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Rostock (ADN)—Sailing and surfing will be possible in the future in the approximately 12 nautical miles of territorial waters off the GDR Baltic Sea Coast. With immediate effect a 13-kilometer-long prohibited zone between Elmenhorst and Barrendorf on the GDR state border to the FRG is also lifted. The beach there which was closed until now is thus accessible to the public again.

The head of the border brigade responsible, Rear Admiral Herbert Staedtke, announced this to journalists in Rostock today. Staedtke gave a briefing about talks with this Polish partner in Szczecin, during which joint action in the new situation was discussed. From the Polish side, too, there was readiness to effectively counter, for example, the increase in smuggling. [passage omitted]

Government Foresees No Devaluation of Mark

LD2311152689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1459 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The Council of Ministers did not, as before, forsee a currency reform or a devaluation of the mark. This also means that it is not considering an exchange of banknotes, GDR Government spokesman Wolfgang Meyer affirmed today in Berlin to the international press. Such measures needed to be checked in the long term. [passage omitted]

Once-Banned Book on '53 Uprising Published

LD2211194889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1712 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—There was a great crush of people today in front of the "Prisma Kunst und Literatur" Gallery in Berlin where the author Stefan Heym was signing copies of his novel "Five Days in June" ["Fuenf Tage im Juni"], which has just been published by the Der Morgen [Liberal Democratic Party of Germany] publishing house.

The book, which was written more than 30 years ago and has now been published for the first time in the GDR, authentically reflects the background to and course of the events of 17 June 1953 [workers' uprising]. [passage omitted]

Differences in New Forum Reported

AU1411104789 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 1000 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] There are differences in the GDR New Forum opposition between the East Berlin section and the bezirk groups. In an interview with Frankfurt Hessischer Rundfunk Network, the spokesman for the Leipzig group, (Tannig), said that some of the bezirks are feeling they have been passed over by the leadership claim of the Berlin section around Baerbel Bohley. He said that the grass roots are no longer ready to accept the idea that certain persons speak on behalf of the whole of New Forum. (Tannig) said about recent developments in the GDR that he could very well conceive of a renewed Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]. He said that the new Prime Minister, Hans Modrow, was a pleasantly businesslike and competent politician. He said it was regrettable that he had not been elected SED general secretary as well.

New Forum's Bohley on Recent Developments

AU1611150989 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 16 Nov 89 p 4

[Interview with Baerbel Bohley, co-founder of New Forum, by Ewald Koenig in East Berlin: "And Rau Is Smiling...."; date not given]

[Text] Berlin—DIE PRESSE: Mrs Bohley on Tuesday [14 November] you were in West Berlin. How was it?

Bohley: I must not talk about emotions here. After 28 years we have again arrived at 1960, and I wonder how it is possible to steal somebody's life. The Wall is closed, the Wall is open, now you have to be pleased, a subject of history—that is how one feels.

DIE PRESSE: The Brandenburg Gate will be opened now. What does this mean?

Bohley: This is the day of Germany unity, is it not? It has always been said: If the Brandenburg Gate is opened, the German question will be solved. For me this is a play. And the setting needs the great breakthrough.

From the personal point of view, the construction of the Berlin Wall was a mistake from the very beginning, politically it is a drama that it is now opened, because the people in the GDR are acquiring political awareness for the first time. The people will think about the matter only when they do not know where they will get the next DM100 from. Then they want reunification. When we have removed the greatest trash, then there will be the beautiful reunification. The entire GDR is sold out. And nobody will realize it. Capitalism is negotiating behind closed doors and will buy the factories. The workers will be surprised. But it is human that the people, who have had to put their wishes in the background for so many years, now want to fulfill their desires.

DIE PRESSE: What does New Forum expect of Premier Modrow?

Bohley: I am so fed up with Modrow; everything just tactics. When Mr Modrow says on television: my friends Markus Wolf and Baerbel Bohley, then I am personally insulted and shocked. One is used wherever possible.

DIE PRESSE: Why is that?

Bohley: I do not have anything to do with these people. I find it insulting that they want to legitimize themselves with people whom they imprisoned 2 years ago. And Johannes Rau [minister president of North Rhine-Westphalia] is smiling.

DIE PRESSE: In Leipzig New Forum distanced itself from you because you said that the people and the leadership are crazy. What do you say about this?

Bohley: We are for freedom of opinion. I will not change my opening, just because someone distances himself from me. Reality is that the country is ruined, the people do not have any ethics anymore. There are no socialist ethics in this country. We are always fixated on the West. And if the people think about it and realize what dignity they have, the borders are opened. I know what will happen.

DIE PRESSE: What?

Bohley: That this exodus will not end. And I can only say: with full justification. Now we have to work for 10 years and then Mr Thyssen [FRG industrialist] comes and says thank you. No one wants this.

DIE PRESSE: How many members does New Forum have now?

Bohley: We no longer count them. Now I am counting those who leave us because they want reunification immediately. For instance: "If you do not demonstrate for reunification now, please strike me off your list."

Hundreds of thousands signed our lists within 8 weeks. Often they did not even read the papers. We are the synonym for changes. This has to shrink again, that is normal. I hope for a minimum consensus: We do not want the GDR to be sold.

Krenz Interviewed on Forthcoming Meeting With Kohl

AU1411082289 Hamburg BILD in German 14 Nov 89 p 4

[Interview with Egon Krenz, general secretary of SED Central Committee and chairman of GDR State Council, by Peter Brinkmann: "What Do You Want to Discuss With Kohl?"; date and place not given]

[Text] BILD: The border is open. Will the Wall be torn down completely?

Krenz: We have made the border permeable. However, this does not mean that the border will disappear. The border is a border between two military systems and two economic systems, and I think that we have the responsibility to make sure that there is order at this border.

BILD: In December you will meet with the FRG chancellor. Will you call for a relief program, perhaps some sort of "Marshall Plan" for the GDR?

Krenz: You know, I have agreed with the chancellor that our representatives prepare the meeting. We have never talked about Marshall Plans or other plans. I intend to discuss things with Chancellor Kohl which are realistic, reasonable, solid, and honest, and which proceed from the fact that there are two independent sovereign German states. The GDR is as independent as the FRG, and the FRG is as independent as the GDR.

BILD: Realistic and reasonable means help in housing construction, road construction,....

Krenz: This will be and must be cleared up in our talks. We are in favor of cooperation in the economy and in environmental protection. Ecology and economy are closely connected, and environmental protection is independent of the borders. The air must be clean on both sides of the border. Thus, we will discuss these things and more, but what we will do in detail I will discuss with Chancellor Kohl and not with BILD.

BILD: But you are not disinclined to agree to a concrete relief program from Bonn?

Krenz: I do not discuss relief programs at all. I always speak of the fact that two equal partners sit at a table and have to come to an understanding about what one does for the other and vice versa.

BILD: Why do you leave the Brandenburg Gate closed?

Krenz: We have opened so many border checkpoints. We should do everything with reason and not make any new demands. I do not care about symbolism; I care about the interests of the people. All the politicians in Bonn and West Berlin who care more for symbolism than for the interests of the people do not understand the signs of the times.

Council of Ministers Holds Extraordinary Session

AU2211162289 Budapest MTI in English 2022 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, 20 Nov (MTI)—"During my week-end meeting in Bonn with Chancellor Helmut Kohl, discussions focussed on economic policy issues. The question of the Chancellor's visit to Budapest on December 18 was also raised", Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth said at the extraordinary government session held on Monday. Ministers were also informed about the talks the two high-ranking leaders of the European Community had in Budapest recently.

The Council of Ministers adopted a resolution that Hungarian Television and Radio the two mass media of outstanding importance in a peaceful transition should come under the control of a 15-member supervisory committee. The committee would consist of representatives of various parties, social organisations, churches and outstanding personalities of the sciences and culture. Ferenc Kohalmi, head of the Film Directorate at the Ministry of Culture, was appointed to head the committee, and will have coordinatory duties as well.

Government Spokesman Zsolt Bajnok said that the leadership of the Alliance of Free Democrats And the Federation of Young Democrats does not wish to be represented on the supervisory committee for the time being.

Ministers decided that the salary of top state officials (the president of the Republic, the speaker of Parliament, the chief public prosecutor, MPs, etc.) will be fixed by Parliament in future and will conform to the rate of ministerial salaries. The government proposes that in the new multi-party parliament, full-time MPs should receive a salary 70 per cent that of ministers.

The government is also due to present Parliament with the draft of the bill on the administration of public revenues. The new bill is designed to modify the state's economic management function in line with the economic reform programme with the aim of making the state's economic activity publicly controllable. The bill says that state property should be sold only according to relevant statutory provisions and that it should be the right of parliament to decide about major investments and state involvement in significant ventures.

A decision was also reached that public administration jurisdiction should be introduced, and the issue of a no-confidence motion to be brought against the minister of environmental protection and water management also discussed. The spokesman hinted that the minister would himself reply on Tuesday at the start of the November session of the National Assembly.

Editorial Assesses RCP Congress Prospects

AU2211163489 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 20 Nov 89 p 2

[Editorial by Gyorgy V. Nonn: "Instinct for Life"]

[Text] Peter Groza had a particular way of explaining the successful Romanian withdrawal in 1944 from the alliance of powers that were losing the war. The great Romanian politician said that the Romanian nation's instinct for life, or more exactly its instinct of self-preservation, led to that change. Of course, as we know, favorable conditions at the time also played a role in this, primarily the Red Army offensive in the Kishinev-Iasi area. However, King Mihai I gave the order to arrest the pro-German General Antonescu and to turn against the occupying German forces. Even more important is that the entire people of Romania turned unanimously against the real enemy. According to Groza, this was the proof of the instinct for life of the Romanian nation.

Today Romania is again facing a historical decision. World attention is focused on Romania. The 14th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] opens today, an opportunity to signal the desire for change.

Seeing the preparations for the congress, one cannot yet count on this. Romanian propaganda continues the chant of endlessly repeated slogans on the "historical Ceausescu-era", and on the welfare and happiness of the people thanks to the people's "beloved son." The documents promise the perfection of leadership, the development of the workers' democracy, and the increase of revolutionary awareness. All these are recurrent stereotypes, and this time it is also nothing new that the delegates are told well in advance that they will have to elect Ceausescu to the post of party general secretary. This procedure was introduced when the oldest delegate at the congress, Constantin Parvulescu openly opposed Ceausescu's election. The former founding member of the party was silenced at that congress. Will he have a follower today?

This is not an easy task. A congress has never been so "secured" before. They secured not only the immediate location of the congress, but also the country's borders. In case of an emergency, the "family" even deployed actual reserves: The Conducator's [Romanian word for "leader"] second son, Valentin Ceausescu, has also been elected as a delegate to the congress. So far, he has only been interested in his profession. His brother, Nicu, the former minister for youth affairs, and currently a county first secretary, cannot count on support even from the most loyal cadres because of his rude behavior and his drinking lifestyle.

How popular is the party itself? The police terror prevailing in the country would hardly be conducive to an opinion poll, but many of the foreign comrades expressed their opinions by their conspicuous absence from the congress. So far, the Italian, Finnish, Austrian, and Hungarian fraternal parties have announced that they would not attend the RCP congress.

However, foreign reaction to the rulers' policy has for long ceased to be a party issue. There is no democratically-elected government in the world today that sympathizes with the Bucharest Government, and even similar dictatorships find it a burden to support Bucharest on the international forums. The patriots are warning that Romania's isolation is already threatening a national catastrophe. An increasing number of people are asking themselves—for the time being only in the privacy of their own homes—how long can all this continue?

A strong and rather stubborn instinct for preservation is also present in Ceausescu himself, and perhaps even more in his wife, the "head of the simultaneously ruling dynasty." It is not difficult to imagine how he feels when news comes of the fall of one of their fellow rulers, or when he reads the open appeal of the Romanian scientists, writers, priests, and famous patriots forced into exile: In the interest of a democratic transition, Ceausescu should leave peacefully, just like Kadar, Honecker, and Zhivkov.

The reactions of sick people are unpredictable. There is also a danger that, for solving domestic conflicts, the current general secretary will take the example of the distant Beijing, rather than the example of Berlin or Moscow. However, history tells us that the peoples' instinct for life is stronger than that of individuals.

Anti-Hungarian Outbursts at Romania CP Congress

LD2211221489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Anti-Hungarian outbursts have been voiced today at the 14th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party. The first secretary of the Cluj [kolozsvar] Party Committee condemned the alleged reactionary circles, which are trying to revive irredentist theories and are intensifying the nationalist stirrings in order to weaken the unity of the workers.

Karpati Returns From Visit to Czechoslovakia

Gives Arrival Statement

LD2311073589 Budapest MTI in English 0033 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 22 (MTI)—Colonel-General Ferenc Karpati, Hungarian minister of defence, returned to Budapest from Prague on Wednesday evening, Mr Karpati was heading a military delegation on a three-day, official friendship visit, at the invitation of Army General Milan Vaclavik, Czechoslovak minister of national defence.

In his press statement on arrival in Budapest, Colonel-General Karpati said the visit was not unexpected but a return for the visit of a Czechoslovak military delegation to Hungary four years ago. This remark was made as there have been rumours that Roland Antoniewicz requested military and financial assistance from Czechoslovakia. The minister of defence said that Prague was aware of a request for financial assistance, but it termed it a provocation.

Mr Karpati said he informed his Czechoslovak coleague about the Hungarian Armed Forces reform under preparation. Their talks also included the conference of ministers of defence of the Warsaw Treaty member states, to be held in Budapest next week.

In answer to a question on the opinion of the Czechoslovak Army about the political developments taking place in that country, Mr Karpati said he experienced temperateness and level-headedness, but tension could also be felt.

Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, met the Hungarian minister of defence. Mr Karpati reported on the Hungarian political processes.

With respect to Lajos Czineges renouncement of his rank of army general, Mr Karpati said that, according to information to date, Mr Czinege had every reason to do so.

Cited on Talks in CSSR

LD2311130889 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1200 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Hungary—Defense Minister Ferenc Karpati, after his return from Czechoslovakia, refuted rumors that his visit to Prague was unexpected. He stated that his talks in Czechoslovakia dealt among other things with the coming meeting of Warsaw Pact defense ministers, which will take place in Budapest next week.

Asked by the media for the view of the Czechoslovak Army leadership of the current development in the country, he answered that he witnessed calm and deliberation [uvazenost], but that at the same time certain tension could be felt.

During his meeting with Milos Jakes, Ferenc Karpati briefed him about political processes in Hungary, about the coming referendum, and about preparations for the presidential elections.

FRG's Genscher Arrives in Budapest 23 Nov

Invited by Foreign Minister

LD2311210989 Budapest MTI in English 1705 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Budapest, November 23 (MTI)—Hans-Dietrich Genscher, foreign minister of the Federal Republic of Germany, arrived in Budapest for an official visit on Thursday afternoon. Mr Genscher is meeting at an invitation from Foreign Minister Gyula Horn. The

FRG foreign minister was met at Ferihegy Airport by Laszlo Kovacs, secretary of state at the Foreign Ministry. [passage omitted]

Meets With Horn, Nemeth

LD2311230389 Budapest MTI in English 2045 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 23 (MTI)—Immediately on arrival in Budapest, FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher opened talks with his host, Foreign Minister Gyula Horn, in the Foreign Ministry. In the evening, Mr Genscher met Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth in Parliament.

The foreign ministers are to hold an international press conference on Friday on the results of the talks.

Assures Support for Reform

LD2311212789 Hamburg DPA in German 1913 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Budapest (DPA)—The Federal Government will continue to support the Hungarian reform course energetically and with vigor. Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher stated this today in Budapest to the Hungarian Government. During talks with Premier Miklos Nemeth and Foreign Minister Gyula Horn, which lasted several hours, Genscher acknowledged "the historical contribution" made by Hungary of having "cut through the Iron Curtain." [passage omitted]

In Budapest the federal foreign minister generally stressed three principles for the support of the reform governments through "stable framework conditions." According to Genscher these are: first, the strict observance of the CSCE Helsinki Final Accord; second the observance of all concluded agreements; and third, observance of the "solemn statements" by the West of not wishing to draw unilateral advantages from the difficulties in the East.

Meets With Other Leaders

LD2411104689 Budapest MTI in English 0950 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 24 (MTI)—Hans-Dietrich Genscher, foreign minister of the Federal Republic of Germany, met Dr Jozsef Antall, president of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, at a working breakfast in the Forum Hotel, Budapest, on Friday.

Dr Antall provided his guest with information about the activity of opposition parties and about how preparations for Sunday's referendum are going.

Herr Genscher also met Dr Stefan Musto, head of the Budapest office of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation of the Free Democratic Party (FDP) which recently opened a representation in Hungary to assist the new parties and organizations in organizing their elections campaigns.

The morning discussion over, Herr Genscher laid a wreath at the Monument to Hungarian Heroes in Heroes' Square, and went on to confer with Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Party, at party headquarters.

During the course of the morning, Dr Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Republic of Hungary, is scheduled to meet the FRG foreign minister in the parliament building, where a credit agreement will also be initialled.

At noon, the two foreign ministers will hold a news conference about their official talks.

Interviewed on Economic Aid

LD2411114389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0545 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Interview with FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher by correspondent Peter Zentai in Budapest; date not given; Genscher speaking in German with superimposed Hungarian translation—recorded]

[Text] [Zentai] What will become of economic assistance for us, now that the East German developments have taken on a revolutionary aspect? Will we not get squeezed into the background from the point of view of the FRG?

[Genscher] Naturally developments in the GDR mean a great deal to us. They have a strong emotional effect on us too, for after all, we are one people. But, we will never forget what Hungary did for us in the refugee affair, and what it did for Europe in being the first to touch the iron curtain. This meant nothing less than that the Hungarians opened the way that led to all-European freedom. At the same time, it must not be forgotten either that the FRG was the state that proposed to the most developed 24 states, the launching of an extraordinary economic aid program for Hungary and Poland, What does this mean? That you can have confidence in us, and in general, in the whole of the Western world.

[Zentai] Except that the number of East European states which need particular care is increasing. It is not only Hungary and Poland which are taking the path of reforms and democracy.

[Genscher] No, this is precisely why we are giving serious consideration to the idea of setting up a European bank which would exclusively deal with the reorganization of finances of the economy of Eastern Europe. It would finance the most varied forms of East-West economic cooperation. Beyond this, the EC will also do its part for the Eastern countries, separately investigating the needs of the individual states. At that time too, particular attention will be paid to Hungary.

National Assembly Resumes Deliberations 22 Nov

Debates Economic Policy

LD2211120189 Budapest MTI in English 0903 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 22 (MTI)—The November session of the Hungarian National Assembly continued on Wednesday with a debate over the three-year economic policy scheme of the Council of Ministers. Later on, the MPs are expected to discuss a report on the guidelines of the 1990 budget of the Republic of Hungary.

Discusses Personnel Affairs

LD2311103289 Budapest MTI in English 0826 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 23 (MTI)—The November session of Parliament started its third day with the discussion of personnel affairs and the election of the members of the Constitutional Court. After the Parliament's principled standpoint on the conditions of electing someone member of the Constitutional Court was accepted, the nominating committee presented a report on its work.

Addresses Personal Income Tax

LD2311225689 Budapest MTI in English 2042 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 23 (MTI)—The third day of parliament's November session closed on Thursday with the end of the detailed debate on the bill on amending the law on personal income tax. In the debate, MPs heatedly protested against many measures of the tax law. Several noted that taxes still have a performance repressing effect, and almost all speakers motioned that tax be paid on bonuses and extras arising from extra work and overtime separately. They also raised their voice in the interest that problems of families with several children be eased with tax benefits. As proposals were heard in the debate in which parliament's reform committee has to take a stand, the body scheduled a session for Friday, prior to the opening of the session.

Istvan Fodor, presiding over the session, announced that work will continue on Friday with the debate over the bill on general value-added tax. However, parliament is not expected to finish the work planned earlier. Therefore, a decision will be made on Friday on the points of the agenda to be postponed for the December session.

Begins Debate on Tax Laws

LD2411094689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungary 0900 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Excerpt] The National Assembly has commenced the detailed debate on the tax laws. Andras Kerekes reports from the parliament.

[Kerekes] the debate is underway on entrepreneurial profit tax, following the conclusion a few minutes ago of the detailed debate on general turnover tax. [passage omitted on Erno Schmidt criticizing proposed immediate introduction of general turnover tax on private car imports; Imre Antal saying the importation of modern cars should be encouraged, not vice versa; Karoly Hellner advising that disabled people should be able to claim back the general turnover tax]

Nyers on HSP Ties With East European Parties

LD2111022589 Budapest MTI in English 0104 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 20 (MTI)—The membership of the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP) could double by the end of the year and reach a hundred thousand, HSP President Rezso Nyers, said in response to a question at a press briefing held in Debrecen (E. Hungary) on Monday.

Mr Nyers confirmed that he acknowledges the reorganisation of the former HSWP, [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] adding that it has a place in the Hungarian left-wing movement.

Mr Nyers said it would be anti-democratic if the opposition organisations—united for short-term political interest—were to be aligned over a longer period. In his view, it is time these organisations created their own image in politics.

Responding to questions, Mr Nyers spoke about the HSP's international relations. He termed ties created with the Polish United Workers Party and the those with the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, led by Egon Krenz, and those with the Yugoslav and Bulgarian parties as good, adding links with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union were continuous. At the same time, relations with the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia cannot be termed as friendly, owing primarily to disagreement over the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros barrage project, and the same goes for ties with Romania. The HSP is not represented at the Romanian party congress owing to unsettled relations between the two parties.

Mr Nyers and Mr Ivan Vitanyi, an HSP Presidium member, also met representatives of the HSP's Provisional Coordination Committee in Debrecen and addressed a canvassing rally.

Mr Nyers said the HSP's most important asset was its ability to assess with criticism and self-criticism its earlier position and its present opportunities. He went on to stress that international interests cannot be placed above national interests, but the Hungarian socialist movement should contribute to making Hungary a binding link between the Eastern and Western parts of Europe.

The HSP should strive for a strategic alliance with the trade unions and young people, and the HSP president felt it conceivable that a youth wing of the party could be set up.

Following the canvassing rally, the local HSP body held its first joint members meeting, attended by Messers Nyers and Vitanyi. A decision was reached to call a city party conference for December 2.

HSP Presidium Statement on Party Integrity

AU2211151389 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 17 Nov 89 p 5

["Statement of Principle of the HSP National Presidium on Some Issues of the Party's Moral and Political Integrity—Discussed by the National Presidium on 15 November 1989"]

[Text] The National Presidium of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] declares that it is extremely important, already in the initial stage of the party's reorganization, to consistently implement the congressional position on the party and the party's statute in practice.

The party members are justified in demanding the full implementation of the party's moral and political integrity and a timely and firm stand against phenomena that have a negative influence on this integrity.

The HSP National Presidium distances itself from those who previously abused their power and from persons that damaged the moral, human, and political prestige of the party and of the communities of party members. The HSP does not intend to repeatedly pillory compromised people, but it cannot accept among its members people who committed acts that met with the disapproval of society. Our party can lay the foundations of the people's confidence by unconditionally accepting honest people with honest intentions and past and by simultaneously firmly rejecting those who damage the party's moral and political prestige. This will facilitate the development of honest general conditions within the whole of society, conditions that can be verified by the public.

The National Presidium calls upon the members, organizations, and officials of the party to safeguard the moral integrity of the party already in the current phase of organizing the party.

We cannot agree with confirming the membership or membership request of citizens who:

—have been proved to have ordered illegal acts or to have participated in such acts;

—made use of their office and position in order to obtain unjustified financial advantages.

The means of working out and maintaining the moral-political conditions in accordance with the party's statute are primarily at the disposal of the basic organizations, district party organizations, and the coordinating committees. Therefore, the National Presidium repeatedly calls upon the party members to create the basic party organizations as soon as possible, and to create local party organizations by the end of November, and simultaneously to send delegates into the district and national coordinating committees. In the framework of these conditions, they should safeguard the political and moral integrity of the party.

The HSP National Presidium considers it necessary to discuss in detail the moral and political state of the party and the further tasks at the national party conference convened for 16 December 1989.

Szuros Agrees To Investigate Complaints

LD2111162789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] The acting president of the Republic [Matyas Szuros] agrees that the relevant permanent committee of the National Assembly should investigate complaints connected with the referendum, and submit a stand in connection with this to Parliament. Matyas Szuros thus summarized his opinion on the opposition open letter from the Hungarian Social Democratic Party, the Independent Smallholders Party, the Alliance of Free Democrats, and FIDESZ [Federation of Young Democrats].

Gyoer PPF Body Issues Appeal on Referendum

LD2211001689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] The Gyoer town presidium of the Patriotic People's Front (PPF) has published an appeal in connection with the referendum, which is to take place over the weekend. Sandor Forgacs reports from Gyoer;

[Forgacs] Let the people decide! This was the title of the appeal published by the Gyoer town presidium of the People's Front. In the opinion of this body, the legitimity of the president of the Republic can only be established by the referendum, therefore, they urge the adult population of the town to go to the polling stations and to vote No to the first question and Yes to the remaining three. This is the only way to make sure that the head of state is elected directly by the people and not by a future Parliament manipulated by parties.

As the town presidium formulated in the appeal, after the one party dictatorship, they (also) reject the multi-party dictatorship. The presidential institution of the Republic must not become the subject of arguments and bargaining between the different parties.

UN Envoy: Romania Human Rights 'Reproachable'

*LD2211044689 Budapest MTI in English
0158 GMT 22 Nov 89*

[Text] New York, November 21 (MTI)—With the violation of the human rights of reformed pastor Laszlo Tokes of Temesvar (Timisoara) and his adherents, Romania is breaching the UN Charter and the commitments it accepted voluntarily in the Vienna Final Act, Ferenc Esztergalyos, Hungarian ambassador to the United Nations organization, stated in his contribution to the debate at the relevant committee of the UN General Assembly. Mr Esztergalyos asked for UN protection for Laszlo Tokes and his congregation.

An essential realization of the late 20th century is that the human rights situation directly affects international relations and the guaranteeing of human rights is a common interest. It is a regrettable and reproachable fact that Romania has declined to cooperate with the UN special emissiary in charge of examining the human rights situation in Romania. Isolation and uncooperativeness run contrary to Romania's international obligations, the Hungarian ambassador said.

Horn Discusses Establishment of Peace Zone

*LD2211003289 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 2100 GMT 21 Nov 89*

[Text] Hungary will create the peace zone of 50 km along the Austrian and Yugoslavian border even if the other two countries will not take steps entirely equivalent with this. This was said by Foreign Minister Gyula Horn in Szombathely.

Incidentally, the experts of the three countries will consult soon in order to achieve a concrete agreement.

Parliamentary Debate on 1990 Budget Ends

*LD2311070189 Budapest MTI in English
2112 GMT 22 Nov 89*

[Text] Budapest, November 22 (MTI)—The second day of the Parliament session closed on Wednesday with the end of the debate over the 1990 budget.

The report by the minister of finance on the budgetary guidelines for 1990 endeavoured to give an answer to how budgetary means could enliven enterprises, serve restructuring, uphold the operation of local self-governments, strengthen social-welfare security, and many other major goals, under strict financial restrictions. Adding up the costs of demands raised by the MPs in their contributions and which were considered justified, it appeared there was no way of overcoming the problem. For, as the minister pointed out, over-spending would lead to the collapse of the economy. No final decision was reached, and parliament is to frame a law on the budget at its December session.

Parliament is to continue its work on Thursday with the debate over the tax laws.

Nemeth Attends Ministry of Defense Conference

*LD2211060989 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1730 GMT 21 Nov 89*

[Text] The Hungarian head of government said at the management conference at the Ministry of Defense that he would like to be able to see that every soldier who serves honestly will walk with their heads raised. Miklos Nemeth recalled that the book on corruption in the army has shattered the confidence of the officers corps and also disturbed public opinion.

At the conference, the prime minister expressed his thanks that professional soldiers, almost without exception, have taken an oath on the new constitution.

Opposition Protest CSSR 'Police Brutality'

*LD2211095389 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1730 GMT 21 Nov 89*

[Text] Hungarian opposition organizations together with the Czechoslovak democratic initiative and the Obroda organisation have protested against the police brutality in Prague.

Representatives of SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats], the Christian Democratic People's Party, the Hungarian Democratic Forum, and the Hungarian Social Democratic Party signed the statement which appeals to international public opinion to express solidarity with the Czechoslovak students. The board of FIDESZ [Federation of Young Democrats] has expressed its sympathy in a separate stance, and demands freedom for Czechoslovakia.

Group Says Government Media Committee 'Mistake'

*LD2211095789 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 2100 GMT 21 Nov 89*

[Text] FIDESZ [Federation of Young Democrats] says the government's decision to set up a body charged with supervising radio and television is a mistake. At the organization's press briefing it said it feared that the representatives of the various parties and organizations in the 15-member committee will bicker with one another, since they will promote the interests of their own organizations, rather than work with impartiality. According to FIDESZ, independent personalities held in public respect and people in the profession ought to be charged with supervising radio and television.

SZDSZ Welcomes Talks With Government

LD2211095289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] The Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] welcomes the premier's announcement in Parliament that the government is preparing to take measures to avoid an economic collapse. They also welcome the government's announced wish for talks with the various parties and organizations on the conditions for peaceful transition. The SZDSZ is also ready for a dialogue.

Third Side Views Roundtable Talks as Ended

LD2211100189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] The members of the third side in the political coordinating talks have announced that they view the discussions as having ended. The earlier political alliance of the Opposition Roundtable has fallen apart. The HSP [Hungarian Socialist Party] was not able to take the place of the previous first side, that is the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]. Amidst such circumstances, the third side views the talks as being senseless.

Reportage on Upcoming Mazowiecki USSR Visit

Discusses 'Problems'

LD2211222389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] President Wojciech Jaruzelski has received Tadeusz Mazowiecki, chairman of the Council of Ministers. Political and socio-economic problems were discussed; special consideration was given to the Premier's forthcoming visit to the USSR.

Government Spokeswoman's Remarks

LD2311104689 Warsaw PAP in English 1737 GMT 22 Nov 89

[By Malgorzata Tryc-Ostrowska and Stanislaw Filipczak]

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 22—Government spokeswoman Malgorzata Niezabitowska's press conference here today, attended also by Vice-Minister of Finance Wojciech Misiag, was largely dominated by Premier Mazowiecki's visit to the USSR starting tomorrow.

Before Premier Mazowiecki's Visit to USSR

It is an unusual event - the first visit of non-communist premier of the Polish Government since General Sikorski visited Moscow in wartime. Our government attaches great importance to the relations with the Soviet Union, the starting point for them being our external sovereignty and independence on internal issues as well as full respect for international obligations, Malgorzata Niezabitowska said.

Not Tactics But Strategy

Our attitude towards the Soviet Union does not stem from temporary tactics but is of a strategic character, the spokeswoman said.

It is untrue, she added, that only one political force in Poland can guarantee the alliance and harmonious cooperation with the USSR. There is no monopoly today for good, partner-like, neighbourly relations, because the foundation for them is the Polish reason of state.

The Soviet Union remains the warrant of our security and first partner in economic cooperation. On the other hand, a strong and democratic Poland is of essential significance for the Soviet Union at its western border, Niezabitowska stated.

Reconciliation, Friendship

Genuine reconciliation and friendship between our nations have become possible now. That government, the government of broad coalition wants to achieve just that as well as to speed up the process, already started, of re-evaluation of the bilateral relations in the direction of genuine partnership and equivalent cooperation, the spokeswoman said.

The elimination of the still existing ballast and grievances from the relations is of great importance here, Niezabitowska continued. They include stamping out the so-called blank spots, giving moral satisfaction to victims of Stalinist terror, regaining cultural values lost by Poland, taking national remembrance spots, cemeteries and graves under care and protection.

Polish Minority in USSR

The issue of Poles in the USSR is another problem. According to the estimates by the "Polonia" Association for Contacts With Poles Abroad there is about two million of them and according to the official census held in the USSR in 1970, 1,167 thousand Poles live in the Soviet Union, 295 thousand of them in the Ukraine, 383 thousand in Belorussia, 240 thousand in Lithuania and 63 thousand in Latvia, Niezabitowska quoted.

The transformations undergoing in the Soviet Union open up a possibility for our compatriotes to more freely cultivate their traditions, culture and language, the spokeswoman continued. Since the midyear 1988 ten Polish socio-cultural associations have been set up in six republics, numerous new schools have been opened.

Talks that the Polish delegation is to hold in Moscow will also concern such issues as easier conditions for opening Polish schools and permission for Polish teachers to arrive in the USSR without necessity to change citizenship, permission for the coming of Polish priests, formation of Polish cultural centres in towns inhabited by many Poles, Niezabitowska disclosed.

Transformation of Economic Relations

Touched upon will be also questions of economic cooperation, the government spokeswoman went on. Both sides agree that needed is transformation of economic relations, but I would like to stress it very strongly that our cooperation is mutually profitable in many spheres and that Poland is interested in its extension.

During our visit to Moscow we will also discuss the fundamental for Poland, question of fuel and raw materials deliveries, we want the deliveries to remain at the level set up in the current five-year plan, and as concerns deliveries of natural gas we would like them to be much higher, Niezabitowska said.

We will also touch upon the question of rescheduling Polish debts, she added, which together with the interest total six billion transfer roubles, or some 1.5 billion dollars.

We are aware of difficult negotiations facing us, but Premier Mazowiecki and the Polish delegation go to Moscow with best will and hope that we will be able to discuss honestly many of these difficult problems and perhaps to solve them. Our hope is founded on the fact that there is also good will on the Soviet side, Niezabitowska stated.

Programme of Visit

The spokeswoman outlined also the programme of Tadeusz Mazowiecki's visit to the USSR. He is to meet with Mikhail Gorbachev, twice with Nikolay Ryzhkov and with Andrey Sakharov and with representatives of the Soviet Polonia. He will visit Moscow, Zagorsk, Smolensk and Katyn.

In reply to a question Niezabitowska said that expected are talks on the question of reparations for Stalinist victims and of Germany's unification. There will be signed, among other things, a protocol and an agreement on environmental protection.

The Polish delegation will include Ministers Syryjczyk, Osiatynski, Swiecicki, Finance Vice-Minister Dabrowski, head of the Polish Radio and Television Drawicz and numerous experts and advisors.

Repatriates

Presently some 200 applications on repatriation to Poland and on gaining double citizenship have been filed in the Soviet Union.

Five Trillion Central Budget Deficit

In the evening, November 20 the central budget deficit totalled some five trillion zloties, Wojciech Misiag announced.

Discussing the budget situation in October Misiag described it as "relatively good." Although in the end of that month the central budget deficit reached four trillion zloties, the bank credit assigned to cover it totalled 4.9 trillion zloties. Incomes of territorial budgets exceeded expenditures by 0.5 trillion zloties which means that the total budget deficit amounted to 3.5 trillion zloties.

The growth of budget deficit in the first two decades of November is a natural phenomenon stemming from the pace of budget income inflow, Misiag stated.

Talks With IMF Near End

Misiag told journalists that another IMF mission is to arrive in Poland on November 27. The Polish side will present then the final draft of the budget. During the visit sums of the so-called executive indices (budget deficit, general level of credit emission, state of currency reserves, etc.) are likely to be discussed.

The fact that these problems will be discussed clearly signals that the talks near its end, the vice-minister said. We think that on conclusion of that round of talks, likely shortly before Christmas, it will be possible to obtain IMF's preliminary, informal acceptance for the government's programme. The work could be concluded in next January, Misiag stated.

Second Emission of State Bonds

Since December 1 till the end of next January it will be possible to subscribe for the second emission of state bonds whose value is to total five trillion zloties, Wojciech Misiag announced. There will be 12,800 thousand of bonds of the value ranging betwen 200 thousand and five million zloties. Till the end of 1994 the interest rate on them are to equal the inflation rate and after 1995 it will be at the level of some 3 percent.

It should not be expected that all bonds will be bought, the finance vice-minister stated. If people buy 80-90 percent of bonds, it will be a success.

Petrol Rationing Not Planned

In reply to a question Wojciech Misiag stated that the government does not envisage return to petrol rationing. He also said that the Soviet Union, which is unable to meet the obligation of the planned oil deliveries, proposed to Poland greater deliveries of natural gas.

Public Financial Reserves

Misiag estimated public financial reserves at the level of some 50 trillion zloties, not considering hard currency reserves not deposited on currency accounts. Several trillion of the sum falls to reserves in zloties.

Poles in USSR at Issue

LD2211214789 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Chairmen and activists of Polish organizations in the Soviet Union were received at the Council of Ministers office today by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki who, as we all know, departs tomorrow for Moscow for a visit lasting several days. Taking part in today's meeting was our reporter Krystyna Koziol.

[Begin recording] [Koziol] Premier, the problems which the Poles who came to this meeting with you spoke about just now have been accumulating for decades. Now you are leaving for Moscow. What are you going to be able to do?

[Mazowiecki] I am going to raise the issue of the large numbers Poles in the USSR. This is a problem which requires a number of solutions regarding the conditions for cultural organizations in the Soviet Union, their existence and development, their links with their home country, opportunities for visiting their home country, the issue of teaching and priests to the Soviet Union. We want to raise all these issues because, as I said earlier, for many years these issues have not been settled, and it is a great shadow and even remorse that these issues have had to wait for so long. [end recording] [passage omitted]

New Envoy Received at Kremlin

LD2411111389 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] On the eve of Tadeusz Mazowiecki's visit, a ceremony to present the credentials of Stanislaw Ciosek, the new Polish ambassador to the Soviet Union, was held at the Kremlin. He was received by Anatoliy Lukyanov, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet.

The Polish-Soviet alliance is characterized by partnership and mutual respect for the sovereignty of both states in determining their models of political systems and in forming internal political, social, and economic relations, Stanislaw Ciosek said.

Anatoliy Lukyanov stressed that the authorities of the Soviet Union regard friendly relations with Poland as an important factor contributing to the preservation of peace in Europe and the post-war borders.

Mazowiecki Receives Soviet Poles

LD2411113289 Warsaw PAP in English 0114 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 22—Representatives of Polish organizations and associations in the USSR met Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki on the third day of their visit here today. The guests presented problems that they come across in their activity and discussed questions of cherishing Polish historical heritage, the necessity to legally define the status of Polish organizations in Soviet republics and to set up the right to have double citizenship.

The guests raised the question of regaining Polish social foundations taken away from Poles in 1927 in the USSR and on former Polish territories in the 1950s. They suggested that Premier Mazowiecki should raise this problem in his official talks during his coming visit to Moscow.

Mazowiecki expressed a view that one should redress what was spoiled in Poland's relations with Poles in the USSR in the past. He said that the earlier disinterest on the part of Polish authorities did not stem from ill-will but from the general situation. He said also that Poland would no more forget Poles in the east. He assured Soviet Poles that the government would try to take part in solving their problems but it would not be possible to settle everything at once. The premier invited both the present and all Poles in the USSR to a meeting at the Polish Embassy in Moscow to be held on November 25.

On the same day, representatives of Polish organizations and associations in the USSR met Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski and discussed questions of Polish education in the USSR, textbooks and possibilities to study in Poland at the Ministry of National Education.

The guests from the USSR today took part in the joint meeting of the Sejm Committee for Liaison with Poles Abroad and the Senate Committee for Emigration and Poles Abroad. They acquainted Sejm deputies and senators with the work and specific features of individual Polish milieux in the USSR.

TASS Interviews Mazowiecki

LD2311053889 Warsaw PAP in English 0204 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, Nov 22—Before his visit to the Soviet Union, Poland's Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki granted an interview to TASS in which he pointed out that his visit should contribute to clear understanding of the mutual goals of both states which is particularly important at a time when so much is taking place in both countries.

Mazowiecki expressed a hope that the visit would create good possibilities for establishing contacts first and foremost on the state-level.

Recalling his expose, Mazowiecki stressed that his government's task was to respect allied treaties. Such a stand is not seasonal nor does constitute a skin-deep element of the Polish Government's policy but stems from a deep understanding of what the alliance with the USSR means for Poland and what Polish-Russian relations (in the historical aspect) and Polish-Soviet relations (in the contemporary context) stand for. The premier expressed a hope that his visit would confirm these intentions.

Replying to questions on the prospects of Polish-Soviet relations and the stumbling-blocks on the road of economic cooperation, the premier pointed out that in the current situation there was a possibility of basing Polish-Soviet relations on a broad social base, which is an immensely important matter. The foundations of a Polish-Soviet alliance were laid earlier on but on the social plane not all of its aspects were totally understood. Hence, it is important to bring about deeper understanding that the alliance is necessary and that a feeling of freedom of choice accompany this, and not a feeling of subordinating oneself to someone's commands.

Mazowiecki said he hoped his visit to the Soviet Union would help dispel doubts which in his view linger in some Soviet circles as to the stability of the situation in Poland or apprehensions that this situation could pose a threat to the situation in all of Europe and countries neighbouring on Poland. That is exactly why we are interested in cooperation with the Soviet Union and would like such doubts to be dispelled, the premier stressed.

Mazowiecki stated that the efforts of his government to revive economic cooperation and deepen contacts with the West were not geared at weakening interest in economic relations with the neighbour to the East but conversely, he thought that cooperation with the USSR has broad, long-term prospects and should be viewed in precisely these categories.

Speaking about obstacles in Polish-Soviet relations, Mazowiecki indicated that many issues of the past, above all "blank spots" in history, should be explained. Moral compensation should be given to Poles who suffered, and homage paid to those who fell(...) and "blank spots" eliminated, the premier told the Soviet press agency.

Asked by TASS about recent incidents of anti-Soviet nature, Mazowiecki stated that the government had assessed them very critically, noting at the same time that these single manifestations should not be turned into a problem dominating mutual relations.

'Mutual Understanding' Sought

LD2311170689 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1615 GMT 23 Nov 89

[No video available]

[Text] Today our team was on duty at Okecie Airport. Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki has gone to Moscow at the invitation of the government of the Soviet Union.

[Begin Mazowiecki recording] Mutual understanding is the most important matter. There is a new situation and a new political set up. A lot is changing in Poland and in the Soviet Union as well. The issue is to achieve mutual understanding to the effect that the will for alliance, friendship, and cooperation on our side is the will not dictated by circumstances but a fundamental and long-term matter. We are here and we shall stay here. We shall always coexist together, and understanding is the most important thing. Apart from this, there are economic problems, problems which one can call historical and political, and problems related to the Poles living abroad. We shall discuss all these issues. [end recording]

Mazowiecki Leaves for Talks

LD2311160189 Warsaw PAP in English 1542 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 23—Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki left this afternoon for an official visit to the Soviet Union.

During the visit, most important for both sides, the premier will hold talks with Mikhail Gorbachev and Nikolay Ryzhkov, and will travel to Leningrad, Smolensk, Zagorsk and Katyn.

A few minutes before his departure, the premier met at the airport with Lech Walesa who had returned today from his tour of Canada, the U.S. and Venezuela.

Lenin Monument Near Krakow Set Afire

LD2211190989 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Here is a statement by the government spokesman:

We have learned that the Lenin monument in Nowa Huta [near Krakow] has been set afire. This is an act of vandalism. Furthermore, at the present moment, on the eve of Premier Mazowiecki's visit to Moscow, such an act bears the signs of a political provocation and is worthy of resolute condemnation.

The Voivodship Prosecutor's Office in Krakow has launched an inquiry into the case.

That was a statement by the government press spokesman.

Warsaw Radio Reports GDR Traffic Decisions

LD2311212489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] The GDR authorities will introduce so-called continuous flow traffic on transit routes between Poland and the FRG and West Berlin, starting tomorrow morning. This means that on all motorways from Poland via the GDR to the FRG, West Berlin, and other West European states, it will not be possible to stop or leave the road. Neither will it be possible to break a transit journey by train. The GDR authorities are also introducing drastic limitations on the purchase of specific goods, starting tomorrow.

Democratic Party Open Letter to Czechoslovak Party

LD2111230189 Warsaw PAP in English 1832 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov—The spokesman for the Democratic Party CC [Central Committee] conveyed to PAP today an open letter sent by the Presidium of the party's CC to the Czechoslovak Socialist Party.

It said, in part: "The Democratic Party has been following with attention and hope activities of fraternal Slav nations—Czechs and Slovaks—aimed to introduce in their republic sweeping reforms to democratize the life of that country.

"We particularly support the Czechoslovak Socialist Party with which the Democratic Party has been cooperating for years and which at present has been playing the main part in the stream of transformations.

"We support the Czechoslovak Socialist Party's protest against solving by force most significant political issues, against brutal violence instead of dialogue."

Students Demonstrate at CSSR Consulate

LD2411030589 Warsaw PAP in English 2040 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Katowice, Nov 23—A demonstration in solidarity with Czech students now on strike was held in front of the Czechoslovak consulate here today.

About a hundred members of the Independent Students' Union (NZS), the Students' Action of Fighting Solidarity, the Confederation of Independent Poland Academic Organization "Legion", the Polish National Front, the Polish Green Party took part in a half-an-hour rally.

Among the slogans repeated was, among other things, the issue of Poles residing in Czechoslovakia.

Lech Walesa's Visit to U.S. Discussed

Speech to Congress Viewed

AU2211132289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Nov 89 p 6

[Zygmunt Slomkowski commentary: "Following Walesa's Congress Speech"]

[Text] Regardless of one's reaction to Lech Walesa's address to Congress, this address and the "Solidarity" leader's U.S. visit in general is a political event of great scope. This is confirmed by the program of the visit and all of the ceremonies prepared by the hosts. Walesa is regarded as a symbol of the correctness of the Republican administration's Polish policy since 1981, including all of those features of that policy that are described as intervention and pressure.

In his speech to Congress, Lech Walesa provided additional confirmation of being such a symbol, said everything he was expected to say, and said it in a way that must have pleased his audience. To do that, he distorted even our latest history with its dramas, turning everything into a comic strip. No doubt he thought that his listeners, accustomed to this kind of image of Eastern Europe, would not ask how the Polish people had managed to survive. In addition, in his speech he created entire cities and villages and credited lots of people with having a good education. Many of these people today, having emigrated from Poland, are contributing to the economy, culture, and science of more than one prosperous and highly developed Western country, including the United States.

Of course, one can erase anything by means of words, including the toil and genuine enthusiasm of millions of Poles. One can erase from history half a century of the life of a nation and state. One can forget every obstacle and circumstance, including the U.S. restrictions against Poland. However, can one build interstate relationships on half-truths? We have bitterly convinced ourselves on more than one occasion that one cannot.

This has to be brought to mind because Lech Walesa appeared on American soil as a Polish emissary who had set himself the enormous task of compelling his interlocutors to undertake concrete and effective activity to support our fundamental reforms and efforts to transform the economy. That is what we in Poland expect, and one can sign one's name beneath Lech Walesa's words, whereby we do not want gifts and donations, but we want our country to be treated as a partner and friend and we want words to be turned into deeds.

Of course, that is the essence of the matter which remains valid.

However, there is the fear that the way in which this need was expressed before Congress may consolidate these philanthropic intentions, instead of convincing people of the need to undertake constructive cooperation, especially at a time when Poland is being presented as a messiah of nations, telling others what to do.

These remarks are not an assessment of the Congress speech, because they have been said before. Nor are they an attempt to discredit Lech Walesa's important mission. On the contrary, my remarks stem from my concern for this mission's complete success, for our country's sake. Respect, particularly in the United States, is only aroused by a partner who is aware of his strength and capabilities. Poland is such a country.

Geremek Remarks on Visit

LD2411025289 Warsaw PAP in English 2012 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 23—Chairman of the Citizens Parliamentary Floor Group (OKP) Bronislaw Geremek returned from his visit to Canada and the U.S. today. First he had accompanied Lech Walesa in his tour of North America and during following two days he had a separate programme of the visit to the U.S.

Upon his arrival at the Warsaw airport the OKP leader said:

"I am privileged to talk about the visit just before Lech Walesa's return. I think the significance of the visit was difficult to assess at our departure. (It was) historic in the sense that the reception of Walesa in the White House and his address to both houses of the U.S. Congress closed the post-Yalta chapter in Poland's history and constituted a kind of satisfaction on the part of those who then had co-decided about Poland's future.

"It happened for the first time in the U.S. Congress history that the finance law was increased during the second debate," Geremek continued. "To us it may be said that the 'feel' for Walesa's speech was high as it exceeded 300 million dollars. That is the sum by which the assistance for Poland defined in the law has been raised."

The OKP chairman also announced that a group of American businessmen is to arrive in Poland in a few days.

Lech Walesa Visit to Venezuela Reported

Arrives in Caracas

LD2111093789 Warsaw PAP in English 0157 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Havana, Nov 20—Lech Walesa arrived in Caracas today to attend and be a co-chairman of the 22nd Congress of the World Confederation of Labour, AFP reported.

On Tuesday, Walesa is to be received by the president of Venezuela.

Walesa was greeted at the airport by representatives of the World Confederation of Labour and Polonian circles. The government of Venezuela was represented by Minister for Economic Reform Carlos Blanco.

Walesa will end his visit to Venezuela on Wednesday.

Meets With President Perez

LD2211055589 Warsaw PAP in English 0235 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Havana, Nov 21—Solidarnosc leader Lech Walesa, now on a visit to Venezuela, met tonight with President of the Republic Carlos Andres Perez.

During a dinner hosted by the Venezuelan president the Solidarnosc leader urged European and Latin American countries to consolidate cooperation.

Let us work together to resolve our problems which are similar, said Walesa, referring—as it was generally understood—to foreign indebtedness of Poand and Venezuela and to the economic situation of the two world regions.

Lech Walesa who addressed on Monday the inauguration of a conference of the World Confederation of Labour in Caracas also referred to the situation in Poland and entire Eastern Europe and stressed that countries in Eastern Europe had economic potential which was not functioning properly.

Later Walesa will meet the Venezuelan president privately.

The Solidarnosc leader also met with Venezuelan Polonia.

POLITYKA Comments on Kohl Visit

PM2411111089 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 18 Nov 89 pp 1, 11

[Adam Krzeminski article: "Dismantling of Walls: Chancellor Helmut Kohl's Visit"]

[Text] Chancellor Helmut Kohl's visit to Poland has become a historic occasion, not because of any words or gestures on our Polish soil but thanks to the opening of the Berlin Wall. You could hardly find a better symbol of what an important element of Polish-German relations the GDR is today. These relations are conducted within a triangle made up of the Federal Republic, the GDR, and Poland, and the chancellor's interruption of his visit to our country—which was both inevitable and understandable—became a more significant gesture than his sign of peace embrace of Premier Mazowiecki in Krzyzowa.

It was a "historic" visit also by the virtue of its own history, which involved a string of misunderstandings and irritations resulting from the fact that, according to the KOELNER STADT-ANZEIGER, "the chancellor wanted to achieve too much too soon through excessively grandiose gestures. Kohl imagined that he would, in a single sweep, symbolically reconcile two governments, two peoples, and the Polish majority with the German minority [in Poland]—and all this, if possible, to the accompaniment of applause from the German Landsmannschaften. It was just too much."

In addition, the difference between the situations and potentials of the two states and the two peoples, in Poland and the Federal Republic, was also too great. The very sight of the two heads of government in front of the guard of honor at the airport spoke volumes. The concentrated, almost anguished, look on Tadeusz Mazowiecki's face, his hair ruffled by the wind, his piercing gaze, and the wry grimace in the corner of his mouth. "He could be a sculptor's model for a figure of the sorrowful Christ," said Klaus Bednarz, a long-established West German television correspondent in Warsaw. Next to the slight but determined Pole, the FRG chancellor—half a head taller, a bit on the heavy side, with an unfathomable look in his eyes, a jovial face, licking his lips as he speaks, as if enjoying the flavor of his words. His face does indeed reflect the "grace of being born too late"—an expression he used during his visit to Jerusalem to distance himself from the possibility of harboring any sense of guilt for Nazism. You can also find in the chancellor's face a reflection of another of his favorite adages—one which ensures his electoral victories: "Productivity must pay." It must also give people a sense of satisfaction with themselves and their position.

The visit began in an atmosphere that was not altogether favorable, although the conclusion of the dispute concerning the chancellor's proposed visit to St Anne's Mount [formerly Annaberg] in Silesia did win him some approval for having yielded despite his accustomed intransigence. But the border dispute, which is still not definitively resolved, has left a residue of resentment. That is, the dispute is "in the process of being resolved", although in a very petty manner. On the eve of the visit a row erupted in the Bundestag between the coalition partners. The Christian Democrats did not want to include in a declaration on Poland the following sentence, which Minister Genscher had addressed to Minister Skubiszewski from the UN platform: "Your people should know that their right to live within secure borders will not be put in doubt by us, the Germans, through any territorial claims either now or in the future."

In the end the CDU endorsed the declaration (except for 26 deputies), but the chancellor did not quote that sentence in Warsaw, nor did he declare that his government would do its utmost to ensure that the Oder and Neisse border be ratified in a future peace treaty. It is obvious that if a treaty came to be signed, that is what would undoubtedly happen. But those who resort to symbolic gestures of reconciliation ought to steer clear of the slightest shadow of ambiguity.

However, there have been ambiguities, gaffes, and irritations—all subsequently dismissed by Hans Klein, the Federal Government spokesman, with the simple formula: "Behind all these theatricals is a communist attempt to discredit the Catholic journalist, Mazowiecki..." Luckily Malgorzata Niezabitowska, Polish Government spokesperson, has stated, clearly and without any signs of agitation, that there are no differences between the communists and Solidarity on the question of the Polish-German border, just as there was no difference on the issue between Gomulka and Cardinal Wyszynski. Also on the question of compensation for former prisoners of German concentration camps and victims of the forced labor scheme Premier Mazowiecki was unambiguous—so much so that German papers headed their dispatches from Warsaw with titles such as "Mazowiecki Team as Tough as His Predecessors' Teams" (BONNER STADT-ANZEIGER and STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG).

Perhaps this whole tug of war around a treaty concluded almost 20 years ago contributed to the fact that the ceremonial embrace between the chancellor and the Polish premier by the altar in Krzyzowa did not result in such a boost to morale as the gesture made by Willy Brandt when he knelt down in Warsaw 20 years ago. Obviously, such things cannot be replicated just like that. It is also true that Krzyzowa is the right place for this version of the sign of peace ritual. It brings to mind the sacrifice of those who opposed the Nazi dictatorship and recalls the moral values which can be preserved by an individual in a state. It is more a Christian gesture than a political one.

The more so since—to quote Bishop Alfons Nossol—it was a "politically difficult visit," as attested to, for instance, by a German banner unfurled during the Mass and bearing the inscription "Helmut, You Are Our Chancellor." Having spotted this on television at the press center, one of the West German journalists groaned: "I only hope they are not going to parade in the costumes of the Annaberg Rifles Band." Helmut Kohl apparently sensed the winds of history sweeping through the place and felt himself uplifted by the historic significance of the occasion: "We shall go forth from this altar toward a happy and peaceful future for our peoples, the Germans and the Poles, and all of us in Europe, a future on which God will have bestowed His blessing."

Not so long ago Jerzy Surdykowski contrasted "the Ottonian leanings" with "the Prussian leanings" in German history. The metaphor was quite transparent. It was also quoted several times recently in the Federal Republic, albeit with some degree of skepticism because Emperor Otto III, who met with Duke Boleslaw Chrobry in Gniezno in the year 1000, and who hoped to forge universal bond of brotherhood between all peoples in the expectation of an approaching end of the world, is generally regarded as an unrealistic aesthete and dreamer of dreams.

It is hard to say whether Helmut Kohl consciously stylized his sign of peace offered to the Polish premier as a repetition, after almost 1,000 years, of the same political constellation, and whether he sees himself in the role of an emperor who brings peace to Europe just as Otto III brought peace to the Polish Duke, calling him his "brother and helper of the Reich." Helmut Kohl likes to stress that he is a historian. But history is for him more of a series of historical tableaux and symbols than logical sequences of events or mechanisms of social forces. His is not an analytical mind. Instead, he claims to be a "generalist" and wonders whether it is only by accident that "some people become great chancellors."

Krzyzowa is no Gniezno, and Helmut Kohl is no Otto III. However, with all his gaffes, his faux-pas, and his thick skin, he senses that the winds of history blow in directions favorable to him. He does not make history, but he is very skilled at exploiting propitious rising currents.

When the chancellor heard that the GDR had opened the Berlin Wall, he commented that he did not feel he was in the right place just then, but if he was destined to be abroad at that historic moment, he would himself "have chosen either Warsaw or Budapest." True, there was a symbolic dimension to this statement, too. The fact that he flew to West Berlin via Hamburg is understandable: He did not want to behave like Adenauer, who refused to interrupt his election campaign when the Berlin Wall was being erected and did not make an appearance in the city at all.

Kohl did make an appearance—and he must have experienced the most bitter moment of his life. No sooner had he climbed the platform put up in front of the City Hall and stood there beside Willy Brandt, the present Mayor of Berlin Walter Momper, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, and other politicians, than he was booed and whistled. That rally should have been shown in its entirety by our television as an object lesson and a highly instructive comment on the public mood in Berlin and the city's political attitudes. Then quite a few of those who make a habit of judging German realities by Polish standards would have realized their mistake. It was not a "reunification" but a "new meeting" between Berliners from both parts of the city. When, toward the end, the organizers intoned the third verse of the anthem: "Unity, and right, and freedom for the German fatherland," the the crowd hardly sang at all. The enthusiasm caused by the opening of the wall was demonstrated in the ecstatic rendition of the anthem by the deputies gathered in the Bundestag, which is perfectly understandable by our Polish standards, but not so obvious in Berlin. As far as we are concerned, it is significant that the Berliners gave Brandt an enthusiastic welcome and applauded Genscher—also when he spoke about the Polish border—but they received the chancellor with extreme reserve. This has its own, specific meaning in Berlin, but it also has a certain symbolic significance. November 9 is a historic date, but not in the sense that some would give it: It is still a long way to reunification, and the SED's decision to allow the unthinkable to happen has gained it quite a few points. The next few months will witness our neighbors' fascinating race toward an open identity for their society. At the finishing line there may equally well lie the status of Austria or a unification through federation.

Our initial reaction could lead us to say: It is a shame that the GDR pushed us to the background in Central Europe. Our friends in the GDR say to us: "We are sorry you have ended up overshadowed. The interruption of the visit to your country is, as it were, symbolic. But you ought to understand us after all these years of being closed in."

It is no use pretending that, to begin with, the opening up of the GDR could not have negative consequences for the development of our relations with the Federal Republic. The chairman of a German bank has told some German journalists outright: We now have to take a look at the possible significance for us of industry in Saxony."

Also, German companies faced with the choice of investing in Poland or the GDR would obviously give preference to the other German state in consideration of the language, comparable state of technological art, distance, and logistics. But it is also true that the agreements signed during Kohl's visit to Poland improve the chances for our cooperation, irrespective of the Federal Republic's ties with other states, including not only the GDR but also Hungary, the Soviet Union, and Czechoslovakia. We are not the only ones. Nevertheless, the most important cooperation offers we received in response to the proposals made to an EEC commission by Minister Trzeciakowski and concerning the modernization of the Polish economy were made by such German companies as Kloeckner-Humboldt Deutz AG, Lurgi GmbH, and so on. Priority is given to undertakings for the development of agriculture and environmental protection, sewage works, gas emission filters, and similar projects. Also to major projects for improving the communications network, that is, the telephone and telex network, as well as computerization of border crossing points and their actual expansion so that there is no need to wait for hours on end for customs clearance.

Prospects for Polish-German relations now look just like this visit—neither continuous nor unambiguous. On the one hand there is the goodwill demonstrated by many people, on the other the fact that many others see no intrinsic value in relations with Poland except that they are simply a function of certain exigencies. On the one hand Poland is regarded with a sympathetic eye as a forerunner of the changes taking place in Central and Eastern Europe, on the other its reputation among international businessmen is pretty poor.

I heard the following joke circulating among junior officials at the airport: "What is the best way to make fast money? By quickly going bust in Poland"—in other words, by taking advantage of government guarantees. There are some Germans who strongly disapprove of certain business practices between companies in our respective countries—such as the minister in an FRG land who was indignant to learn that a West German company had set up a joint venture with a Polish firm on condition that we produce only the concrete plinths for the German installations, though we lack only 30 per cent of the technology needed to manufacture the whole thing ourselves. But the German entrepreneur told his minister openly: "Do you expect me to help create a competitor for myself?" Such information, based on whispered gossip and hearsay, produce a specific atmosphere around such ventures more surely than overt gestures by rulers would. "But this is Africanization! This is precisely how the development assistance to the Third World came to nothing," an acquaintance said to me, commenting on the affair as he told me about it. Chancellor Kohl says that Poland needs "help to help itself." This is true.

We still have not won the game in which our future is at stake, while Kohl's visit is not a breakthrough but only one step forward amid a minefield of prejudice, mistrust, ignorance, developmental inequality, and historically justified apprehension. "Will they not buy us out?"; "Once they start coming in, will it not lead to new German settlements subject only to German law?"; "Who will the German minority follow, Grass or Hupka?" Already today you can see German minority spokesmen on West German television saying such things as: In terms of civilization we have always stood above the Poles. The Poles should learn from us.

There are a great many problems, fears, and potentially explosive areas here. Some of them are real, others exaggerated as a result of historically explained phobias. It would be disastrous if we in Poland were now to persuade ourselves of the need to elevate the "German problem" to the status of a facet of political struggle between the emerging parties. Today—just as before—we should give our full support to the Tadeusz Mazowiecki government's policy on the German issues, since it unquestionably supports all the fundamental elements of Poland's reason of state.

Our differences of opinion can consist in the nuances of interpretation that we give to the same views, declarations, or gestures, but we would gain nothing by using the "German issue" to win us points in our domestic political conflicts. The country is too weak for this and its need for urgent modernization is too pressing. And, unfortunately, it will have to pay dearly for its backwardness for some time to come. Let us hope that the time is not too long, or the price too high.

Skubiszewski Receives Swiss Delegation 22 Nov

LD2211055189 Warsaw PAP in English 0118 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 21—Poland's Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski received today visiting presidents of both chambers of the Swiss Federal Assembly, President of the National Council Josef Iten and President of the Council of States Hubert Reymond. The meeting was attended by Switzerland's Ambassador to Poland Richard Gaechter.

Both sides discussed bilateral relations, including Swiss economic and food aid for this country, and also main aspects of the current international situation.

Skubiszewski Interviewed on Foreign Policy

AU2311103589 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 16 Nov 89 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Krzysztof Skubiszewski, Polish minister of foreign affairs, by Wojciech Zielinski: "Foreign Policy Without Ideology"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Zielinski] Your candidacy for the post of foreign minister came suddenly. It came as a surprise to public opinion. Did it also come as a great surprise to you? What was your first reaction?

[Skubiszewski] I did not expect to receive the proposal from the premier. I suggested to the premier that he turn to someone else. I had entirely different concrete professional plans of a long term kind that were to start in the fall. For the last 17 years I have travelled to various academic conferences on international law for several days at time, but over this long period I have never spent several months abroad, which is something out of the ordinary in my field. I had received several invitations and I wanted to accept some of them in order to spend a long period of time conducting research abroad.

[Zielinski] What made you decide to accept the proposal?

[Skubiszewski] A sense of duty. Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government provides a great opportunity for Poland. In life one does not just follow one's inclinations, but does what is dictated by a sense of duty. All of us have various duties and some of them come unexpectedly. The greatest present-day Pole, John Paul II, teaches us that our mission is to serve.

[Zielinski] I followed the course of the Sejm commission hearings during which you cut an excellent figure. However, is this dramatic jump from a professor's study to the office of the head of a key ministry not depressing in some way?

[Skubiszkewski] I never had a study. Luxuries of that kind were not available to me. However, that is not the point. It is indeed a fundamental change of occupation, but why should it be depressing? I have very deep regrets about not being able to pursue my profession, although it is useful in my present post. A knowledge of international law and a legal training generally do help a foreign minister. I had no connections with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs before being asked to join the present government. During more than 40 years work in the international law and international relations field I have never been a member of a Ministry of Foreign Affairs delegation or attended a conference on its behalf. Besides, I never had any pretensions of that kind—I had always viewed foreign policy in a way that was entirely different from that of the governments and individuals who have been in power in Poland until now. During the last 40 years the ministry asked me to provide a written expert opinion on two occasions and I provided the advice on each occasion. The second of the opinions was written shortly before the change of government and before Premier Mazowiecki made his proposal to me. It concerned the invalidity of the international agreements concluded between the German Reich and the USSR in the years 1939-41. Unfortunately, it had no effect: There was no official statement on the issue. That is why I made a statement (when I was already minister) at the United Nations Organization, that is, at the broadest possible forum. It will exist forever now (if anything can last forever in this world) in the published protocols of the UN General Assembly.

[Zielinski] As a citizen, what were the biggest complaints that you had to make about Polish diplomacy?

[Skubiszewski] I understand that to mean the foreign policy pursued by the Warsaw government since 1945. There was a lack of independence about the policy, and the ministry itself and its personnel were an appendage of one political party, the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], and its leaders. It was a denial of the normal functioning of statehood. All of us are conscious of the absence of a normal state today, and we will feel this for a long time to come. We will not get rid of the bad legacy quickly.

[Zielinski] In your program you have accorded a key place to issues such as removing ideology from foreign policy and diplomacy's role of serving the reform program. This is not the first time that we have heard something of this kind. What qualitative changes do you expect in this respect?

[Skubiszewski] You are, however, hearing this for first time. The elimination of ideology (or rather the pseudo ideology that was binding in the Polish People's Republic until recently) is new, because it was only with the formation of the Mazowiecki government that the ministry was separated from the PZPR. I will not link the ministry to any party or political group. The elimination of the ideological element affects our policy, including our attitude toward the 1955 Warsaw Pact.

Serving reform is also something new. We have never before had this degree of political and economic change, and these issues have never before occupied such an important place in diplomatic talks.

I have already indicated the qualitative change: foreign policy is state policy, not party policy, irrespective of the political complexion.

[Zielinski] Which are the most suitable criteria for assessing the effectiveness of diplomacy?

[Skubiszewski] There are many factors. I will mention some of them: the attainment of one's goals at the right time, knowing when to act, tact, avoiding incidents, avoiding conflicts wherever possible, sensible compromises, the art of accomplishing as much as possible, responsiveness and the ability to react without nervousness. The key element is possessing a vision and fundamental goals despite the burden of day to day work. There is a lot of the latter: It takes up more than 10 hours a day 7 days a week. During my first few months in the post, I have only once left the ministry at 1600 and that is because I had a fever, which I had had for 2 days (a journalist who met me on the steps made a point of asking: "Are you leaving already?"). However, a minister must have time to think and read.

I would also stress that foreign policy should take account of people's needs and be guided by them. That is how I acted with regard to the first issue that I found on my desk on receiving the Sejm nomination, that is, the question of GDR refugees being able to leave Poland freely. I would remind you that at that time I was still dealing with Honecker's republic.

[Zielinski] During the course of your first few speeches you presented yourself as the advocate of a very pragmatic diplomacy that is motivated by the highest national and state interests. How would you define the nature of relations with our closest neighbors: I am thinking of the Warsaw Pact countries. How would you assess the reaction to the formation of the Mazowiecki government in the individual capitals?

[Skubiszewski] External sovereignty for our state and independence with respect to internal affairs, especially institutional affairs. The Warsaw Pact and its political and military organization must deal solely with external security, disarmament, and relations with NATO. The Warsaw Pact has nothing to do with our internal affairs. Today the reactions of our Warsaw Pact allies are not creating any problems for us. Cooperation with the Soviet is evolving well, and my talks with Minister Shevardnadze were constructive, business-like, and productive. Minister Shevardnadze is a very good and interesting person to speak to. His current policy favors our interests.

[Zielinski] What do you associate with the term "Finlandization?" Do you think that it is a solution that could be employed in our situation?

[Skubiszewski] I avoid the term. There is something pejorative about it. The Finns are a courageous and valuable nation, and I have a lot of admiration for them. Their policy has produced excellent results. Poland is obtaining independence its own way. Every nation has its own path and capabilities, which does not mean that we cannot learn quite a number of things from Finland.

[Zielinski] One of the government options that you represent is a broad opening up to the West. However, you are critical of the attitude that the highly developed states have displayed toward the changes that are taking place in Poland. During the Foreign Affairs Commission hearing you said: "They praise us, they are pleased, but this has not produced any results."

[Skubiszewski] What I said in September was true at that time. Today the West has done far more than utter words. We have received food aid, some credits, concrete promises of further credits, credit guarantees, the stabilization fund for improving the condition of our currency is growing, there are numerous and new cooperation and investment projects, and aid for agriculture. All these things create a new picture of our economic cooperation with foreign countries and is an important part of the government's new policy toward the West. The premier and the ministers who head the economic ministries have performed great services in this important field. My role is a subsidiary one.

[Zielinski] Relations with the FRG constitute one of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' most difficult tasks. To what extent can one talk about a change of Polish perceptions in this respect? What conditions should agreement between Warsaw and Bonn satisfy?

[Skubiszewski] Through his representative, Mieczyslaw Pszon, Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki speeded up the talks at the head of government level. However, although progress was made, there was an impasse. The new government overcame that impasse. The talks have produced a positive outcome. An important step has been taken toward producing a fundamental breakthrough in relations with the FRG. This is borne out by everything that we accomplished during the federal chancellor's visit. We do remember about the issues that have not been resolved, especially about the claims of those people who were victims of the Third Reich. The president and the premier talked about this concrete issue with the chancellor, and I discussed it with Minister Genscher.

There are certain differences between Poland and the FRG concerning interpretations of the 1970 normalization treaty. However, we have received assurances from Bonn that our territorial security will not violated by any changes in Germany. I would point out here that there has recently been a certain step forward that has benefited us regarding the FRG's position on our borders. Speaking at the UN on 27 September of this year and addressing me personally, Minister Genscher said that the Polish nation "should know that its right to live in secure borders will not be questioned by us, the Germans, by way of territorial claims neither now nor in the future." It is important to look to the future in this respect, to a time when changes might occur in Germany. The same theme is taken up by the FRG Parliament (Bundestag) resolution that was adopted on 8 November of this year, that is, on the eve of Chancellor Kohl's arrival in Warsaw. I view that stance very positively, and it augurs well for our relations and reconciliation between our two peoples.

RZECZPOSPOLITA readers are acquainted with the excellent economic results produced by Chancellor Kohl's visit and the numerous international agreements that were prepared before the visit and signed during it—this is not something that I have to talk about. The restoration of recognition for the conduct of legal transactions and legal assistance between the two states is particularly important for the many Poles who live or work in the FRG. We have resolved the controversial issue of place names (the use of German or Polish place names), which hindered or made impossible cooperation in various areas connected with people's everyday interests. In my opinion, foreign policy should always have its human dimension and serve the so-called common man.

[Zielinski] How do you see the role of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in developing foreign policy with respect to other entities that have an interest in this field and, in addition, have extensive powers?

[Skubiszewski] The minister of foreign affairs provides a concept of foreign policy and implements the policy on both a long term and day to day basis. He does this in agreement with the premier and under the supervision of the government, which determines—at the minister's request—the main directions of policy. All this takes place under a certain degree of supervision exercised by both chambers of Parliament, which also provide their own important stimuli. I believe that political parties and groups can only exercise influence through Parliament. However, Parliament cannot take over foreign policy from the government. We saw the catastrophic results that this had in the United States following the Vietnam War. The president has extensive powers concerning key foreign policy issues, although he does not develop policy itself. However, he does influence it.

The effect of the activities of these various organs is that the minister of foreign affairs must be able to coordinate so that there is one policy and the course of policy does not waver.

[Zielinski] The department that you head is supposed to have an excessively one-sided personnel policy. What changes are to be expected in this area? Where will the Ministry of Foreign Affairs recruit new employees from? How do you view the training of personnel for the ministry's needs?

[Skubiszewski] The selection of Ministry of Foreign Affairs employees was one-sided and restrictive. Whole groups of able people who possessed the right education were cut off from the work of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (and not only the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) for decades. The ministry became the exclusive domain of the PZPR and then there was the influence exercised by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, not to mention the various, numerous ambassadors from outside the ministry and of dubious origins (various people from the so-called nomenklatura, which is fortunately now a thing of the past, are continuing to hold out their hands for embassies). The situation at our missions is not good, and there are a lot of complaints. At the same, I would say that there a large number of experts at the headquarters of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs without which the department would not be able to function. Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government has to deal with a given corps of officials that cannot be changed overnight. Expert and loyal officials from the old system will remain on condition that they do not get involved in any kind of political activity. Political parties must be separated from state offices.

Neither "Solidarity" nor any other new and democratic political grouping has an alternative civil service, especially one that is trained to work in my department. They do not even have any individual candidates for this or that post. Nevertheless, new people are being sought and will be employed.

A system for training state officials (a civil service) is being prepared. There was no civil service training at all in the Polish People's Republic, and we can see the effects of that. However, the training of new and specialist officials is a long term matter. Of course, it is out of the question that the current Center for Foreign Service Training should exist as part of the PZPR Academy of Social Sciences or as part of some other party course of whatever political complexion. That is only something that could occur to people who do not think in terms of state interests. I have advised that this should be discontinued. We will train officials in the normal way. The center can be part of a university or be replaced by some other center.

When I arrived at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs I did not voice any expressions of recognition (this was invented by some weekly), but I told the officials clearly that: I require professionalism, diligence, and complete loyalty to the government. This is because the government has changed, and the officials that were committed to the old system remain. Those who are unsuitable will be gradually removed and, that aside, there are too many people employed at our embassies. I will be glad to employ new specialists. They have not come forward so far. My cooperation with department officials is developing well.

[Zielinski] It has recently been fashionable to say that foreign policy should be made public. What do you understand by that?

[Skubiszewski] The question is not clear. The concept of making foreign policy public is imprecise. What I said in answer to an earlier question about the role of parliament guarantees that the nation and the public can exercise an influence on the direction of diplomacy.

[Zielinski] Thank you.

Reportage on Sejm Sessions, Speeches, Results

Session Opens, Agenda Noted

LD2311121189 Warsaw PAP in English
1148 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 23—The Sejm (lower house of the Polish Parliament) started a meeting here today.

The deputies will look at draft amendments to some regulations of the Penal Law and to some executive regulations of the Penal Code and at a bill on the lifting of the law on the voluntary reserve of Civil Militia (ORMO).

The Sejm will also hear a report on amendments to the law on changes in the organization and the scope of activity of some supreme and central bodies of state administration, the point being granting the powers of the to-date Office for Religious Affairs to the Office of the Council of Ministers.

Rakowski Statement to Sejm

LD2311055389 Warsaw PAP in English
0237 GMT 23 Nov 89

["Rakowski's Statement to Sejm Special Commission—(Excerpts)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 22—On October 18, chairman of the Special Commission Deputy Ryszard Bugaj stated before the commission wrapped up work and before listening to what I had to say, stated that the responsibility of Rakowski's government for exceeding the budget and bringing about economic catastrophe was significant and doubtless.

At the same time, Deputy Bugaj—again not waiting for the conclusion of the commission's work—stated that there was no need to motion to make the members of the previous government accountable before the constitutional tribunal.

I reject both these general accusations and sentence, as well as magnanimous amnesty. I state that I cannot accept any act of clemency. This would do dishonour to the members of my government and hundreds of thousands of department heads of various levels which are contemptuously termed as "nomenklatura." I await an unbiased assessment of the undertakings of my government and conclusions based on the results of analysis.

My government operated from October 13, 1988 till the end of July 1989. I estimate the real activity at 4 months, after which it was to a big degree stalled so as not to forestall the "round table" arrangements. To bring about economic catastrophe in four months would mean a very speedy rate indeed.

At issue, therefore, was to have Rakowski's government—which can be brought before the constitutional tribunal—take on responsibility for economic faults of the past 45 years.

The thesis about 45 wasted years is a falsehood and offends the efforts of whole generations of Poles. We wasted many chances, we fatally delayed necessary reforms but we did create lasting foundations on which one can build the future. If today the advocates of privatizing industry are concerned that it is too big to be bought out, they unwittingly pay tribute to the builders of an industrial Poland, millions of workers and excellent engineering cadres.

What the Rakowski government inherited in October 1988 was not to be envied. Debt, lack of visible progress in negotiations with the International Monetary Fund and world bank, meagre hard currency resources, falling housing construction, painful shortage of labour force in some industrial centres such as Lodz. We worked with no prospects for assistance or new credits.

Our heirs factually tread the same path as we did. The more time passes by since the period of euphoria, the more frequently the members of the cabinet point to continuation. And sensibly speaking, things cannot be otherwise. Like my cabinet, also the present one unceasingly repeats that overcoming the crisis requires at least several years, above all consent to making sacrifices.

In the first months of our activities we zeroed in on preparations of a whole package of bill on the economy and we endowed the projects compiled by the previous government team with a radical, bold character. It was my government which made a breakthrough in the Polish economic system.

The current government team is heading in the same direction as the previous one. This particularly pertains to the methods and instruments of a pro-market economic policy, but not the goals. It follows from the statements of some ministers of the current government or the commentators associated with them, that their goal is the return of Poland to capitalism. As far as I remember, the new economic order which was outlined at the "round table" did not envisage Poland's return to capitalism.

We were advocates of radical changes but at the same time we proceeded from the assumption that their rate must take into account the state of social awareness, society's readiness. The current government has announced a radical course and economic decisions which will hurt, and badly at that. I cannot reply how society will stand these blows. I for my part continue to speak in favour of a moderate course.

Today I think that from a political point of view I made a mistake in agreeing to introduce market prices in the last days of my government. One should have left this difficult decision to the new government and not make things easier for it, taking upon oneself the toughest (decisions). Thanks to this the food market is gaining some balance. Without this there would be no food.

The government which I headed proceeded from the assumption that marketisation should be introduced this year in such a way as not to permit shocking price hikes to occur. In light of this we decided to remove subsidies for basic foodstuffs gradually. We did not envisage free soups or appeals to earmark a third of one's pay to funds for the poor.

My government was in office too short a time for society to be able to feel the positive effects of its reforms, of our program. I deem as dishonest settling accounts with a team which owing to circumstances could only begin its mission. I also deem as immoral squaring accounts with yesterday's "round table" partners with whom one adopted principles of continuing the economic policy and with whom one signed agreements. By the way, there no longer are people to execute them.

At the same time I think that accusing us of bringing about economic catastrophe stands for political lack of concern. This extreme evaluation ricochets back on Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government.

Rakowski Denies Responsibility

LD2211211389 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] The charge that I have brought about an economic catastrophe is considered by me as an act of political carelessness [polityczna nierozwaga]. This extreme description hits out indirectly at the government of Tadeusz Mazowiecki. Many disadvantageous phenomena in the economy arose in the first 6 months when I was premier. In the second 6 months period, that is during the premiership of Mazowiecki, the economic crisis intensified. This is the main point of a statement by Mieczyslaw Rakowski made today at the meeting of the Sejm Extraordinary Commission.

Session Resumes; Committees Report

LD2411100189 Warsaw PAP in English 0948 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 24—The Polish Sejm resumed its debate at 9:00 this morning [0800 GMT].

The chamber will hear reports by Sejm committees on establishing the office of minister of transport and maritime economy and the office of minister of communications.

The agenda also includes deputies' questions.

Constitutional Change Proposed

LD2311072489 Warsaw PAP in English 0117 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 22—Over 40 Sejm deputies of the Solidarity Caucus OKP [Citizens' Parliamentary Club], ZSL [United Peasants Party], DP [Democratic Party], and PUWP [Peoples United Workers Party] and one independent have submitted a proposal of amending some of the constitutional clauses, while two other proposals have been sent in earlier.

The main change would consist in deleting the words "leading political force" which refer to the Communist Party PUWP and adding a clause providing for the possibility of organising various political parties.

Laws Passed; ORMO Repealed

LD2311223289 Warsaw PAP in English 1955 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 23—The Lower House of Poland's Parliament Sejm adopted five laws at its sitting here today.

Before the Sejm started debates, deputies had been told about an accident that members of the Swiss parliamentary delegation including President of the Council of States Hubert Reymond and General Secretary of the National Council Jean-Marc Sauvan had during their tour of Poland.

PAP learnt that the accident happened near Radomsko (central Poland) about 5 p.m. on Wednesday. A moment earlier a crash of several cars had taken place there when a lorry ran into cars waiting for the road to clear.

Two of the laws adopted by the Sejm today concern penal law.

Changes in the criminal code include the lifting of courts' obligatory ruling of confiscation of property (this does not mean completely giving up the penalty). The so-called social adjustment centres will stop to exist as in fact they have constituted prolongation of isolation penalty. Legal protection of private and social property is being made equal.

The amendments adopted today envisage that after January 1, 1991, people under detention awaiting trial may be imprisoned only in inquiry prisons supervised by the Justice Ministry. Up till then their detention in militia or garrison custody has been restricted.

Heated discussion preceded the adoption of the law repealing the law on ORMO civic militia voluntary reserve.

The organization is of no social character but of state, military and police-like of a totalitarian kind, stated Rapporteur Deputy Bohdan Kopczynski. It is a post-Stalinist organization.

The deputy referred to the statement by the Interior Ministry that in case of ORMO liquidation it will be necessary to enforce the militia by 20,000 people. According to Kopczynski just the opposite thing should be done, namely dismissal of 80,000 militia employees and of 20,000 secretaries.

In the years 1935-1937 the state police had 32,200 employees while presently the militia numbers 155,000 people.

ORMO has gained a very ill name, deputy Tadeusz Kowalczyk stated. He considered the repeal of the law on ORMO as a move towards transformation of Poland from a police state into a democratic one.

The fourth of the adopted laws concerned liquidation of the office for religious affairs, its tasks to be performed by the office of the Council of Ministers.

The Medical Academy of Wroclaw was named after Silesian Piasts (Polish dynasty) in the fifth law passed today.

Next question time started.

The Sejm debates are to be continued on Friday.

PAP on Dissolution of ORMO

LD2311224389 Warsaw PAP in English
2035 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 23—The Sejm (Lower House) today liquidated the voluntary reserve of the Civic Militia (Police) known by its Polish acronym ORMO. The ORMO was founded in 1946 by a decree of the National People's Council (KRN) originally as the "Civil Service" in the regained territories. Its task was to support the work of the police and, to a lesser extent, of the army on that area. Throughout the 43 years of its life, it was several times transformed by various decrees and its today's shape was established in 1967.

The law passed this year described the ORMO as a social organisation widely cooperating or straightforwardly subordinate to the Internal Ministry Services and "affiliating citizens devoted to socialism and Poland, who are ready to actively and in an organised manner, take part in the protection of public order."

According to the deputies who spoke in the Sejm, the ORMO not only failed to do its duty and protect order but it turned in to a paramilitary "extension of the apparatus of power" (as Democratic Party Deputy Stefan Bilinski put it). It has also become a relic of the totalitarian system designed to use physical force against political opponents, an organisation of oppression and spying (Solidarity M.P. Bogdan Kopczynski).

The number of ORMO members which, according to official sources is about 330 thousand people equipped with many privileges including the right to possess (fire) arms, has made this organisation an actual army protecting the interests of the PUWP monopoly. The ORMO had over 17,000 office rooms in factories and other places. The official costs of keeping the ORMO going reached 675 million zlotys in the last year's Internal Ministry budget.

This sum should be increased by many billions zlotys of losses caused by the legal absence from work of ORMO members, cheaper city transport tickets, etc. The liquidation of the ORMO is the first step in the right direction. The next one should be to examine the situation in the Internal Ministry and find out how useful the Security Service (SB) really is (Proposal of Solidarity M.P. Edward Rzepka).

The direct subordination of the ORMO to the police and security service is to blame for the fact that even massive participation of ORMO-men in road traffic control, tracking down criminals, keeping order during gatherings, etc., has not earned it public recognition.

According to the data released by the staff of the ORMO commander-in-chief, in 1988 the predominating group of ORMO men were PUWP members (58 percent) and persons of no party affiliation (30 percent). Workers were a big majority (56.5 percent), peasants represented 26.3 percent, and intelligentsia 17.5 percent.

Twenty-six percent of ORMO functionaries were aged 41-50, and 31 percent were over 50. The ORMO had more than 8.7 thousand local units, more than 6.4 thousand units in enterprises, and 13.5 thousand units called specialist.

Senate Commission Favors Expanding Amnesty Law

LD2311070389 Warsaw PAP in English
0154 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 22—The Senate Human Rights and Law Abidingness Commission held a meeting today, adopting a stand on the Amnesty Law voted in by the Sejm last week. The senators proposed introducing several amendments expanding the amnesty's scope.

The committee's motions aim to also cover the perpetrators of banditry and robberies and so-called recidivists, but easing their prison sentences only by a quarter. The senators favour forgiving and consigning to oblivion all offences without exception, including tax-related ones and remit all sentences pending execution in this respect.

PZPR Central Committee Politburo Meets

LD2211052789 Warsaw PAP in English
0125 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 21—The PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] Political Bureau held a meeting here today. during the first part of the meeting the Bureau debated together with the Secretariat of the Executive Committee of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions, OPZZ.

Sides briefed each other on the preparations for the 11th PUWP Congress and on the congress of the reborn Polish trade unions. The sides exchanged views on problems raising concern among crews of socialized workplaces, their families and pensioners.

During the next part of the meeting, members of the bureau reviewed the state of work on the report on the activities of the Central Committee and the implementation of resolutions of the 10th Congress, to be presented during the 11th Congress.

In tune with the proposals of the Central Congress Committee, it was decided to prepare before the 11th Congress seperate documents which would reflect the party's stand on the current social, economic and political problems. The draft documents will be put for pre-congress discussions in party links in December.

Rakowski Comments on Party's Lack of Struggle

LD2311233789 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] The Polish United Workers Party is no longer ready to wage an effective political struggle. It will take time, even a generation, to create a fighting party, Mieczyslaw Rakowski stated at a meeting with members of the main and voivodship boards and (?deputies) of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth.

Solidarity-PZPR Reforms Alliance Criticized

LD2211095989 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] The Democratic Party [SD] Central Committee Presidium has criticized the concept of an alliance between the so-called Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] reformers and the Solidarity Left because such plans threaten to create a consolidation of the monopoly of power of the left, which has done a lot of harm to Polish society during the past 45 years.

Mazowiecki Holds Talks With Rakowski 21 Nov

LD2211051189 Warsaw PAP in English 1605 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 21—Poland's premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki met here today with PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] First Secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski.

Internal Affairs Ministry Changes Announced

LD2311062489 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] PAP announces changes in the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MSW]: The minister of internal affairs has dissolved the political and educational service of MSW and the MSW Armed Forces Command. The Professional Training and Personnel Service has been transformed into the MSW Personnel, Training and Education Service. In connection with this, the posts of deputy heads for political affairs of voivodship and regional internal affairs offices are abolished. The vacancies will be transferred to the Civic Militia and Colonel (Leszek Lamparski) has been appointed head of the new personnel, training and education service.

Mazowiecki Appoints New State Secretaries

LD1911115189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0200 GMT 19 Nov 89

[Text] On the recommendation of the industry minister, the chairman of the Council of Ministers has recalled Stanislaw Klos and Eugeniusz Szatkowski from the posts of secretary of state.

The premier has appointed Franciszek Gaik and Marian Kania to the vacant posts.

Premier Accepts Olsztyn Governor's Resignation

LD1811033589 Warsaw PAP in English 0131 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 17—The prime minister today accepted the resignation of the Governor of Olsztyn Sergiusz Rubczewski and thanked him for his longtime work on the office.

Radwanski Appointed Legislative Council Chairman

LD2011155189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] The ceremony to appoint a new legislative council attached to the chairman of the Council of Ministers has taken place in the office of the Council of Ministers. Its term of office will last until 1992. Professor Zbigniew Radwanski has been appointed chairman of the Council. Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki presented council members with their nominations.

Mazowiecki Receives Cooperatives Council Members

LD1811030989 Warsaw PAP in English 0128 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 17—Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki received here today representatives of the chief cooperatives council with its Chairman Wlodzimierz Krajewski.

The premier briefed the cooperatives members on the assumptions of the government's self-amendment to draft law on changes in organization and activity of the cooperative movement. The essence of the amendment, to be filed with the Sejm by the government, is transfer of cooperative unions' assets within the cooperative sector.

The premier acknowledged the delegation's suggestion to nominate the liquidator of a union by cooperatives of the liquidated union.

The meeting decided to set up a team of government and cooperative movement representatives to start work on preparation of a draft cooperative law.

UPP Chairman Interviewed on Stronger Party

LD2111225889 Warsaw PAP in English
1825 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 21—Although they are for Premier Mazowiecki's government and helped in its formation by joining the coalition, rural activists are concerned about developments in food economy and oppose the current agricultural policy, said United Peasant Party [UPP] Central Committee Chairman Dominik Ludwiczak in an interview by PAP.

A strong peasant party is needed to prevent such tendencies, he continued, and build a strong Poland in a harmonious way without allowing of the monopoly of power. As our history has proved each monopoly brings about evil and breakup in the peasant movement suits politicos, irresponsible people ill-disposed towards Poland.

I get the impression that the conflict in the peasant movement, which undoubtedly exists, relates to people only and that there are no essential ideological or programmatic differences between its orientations. All factions of the Polish Peasant Party (PSL) as well as the social committee for revival of peasant movement and the UPP consider their own the programme of Mikolajczyk's PSL of 1946, Ludwiczak stated.

By manipulating the UPP history, some people try to put the party in such a light so as to undermine its undeniable achievements, the UPP leader went on. They want to build a new party on the UPP ruins.

Today one tends to forget that the UPP was the only political force to fight for peasant's and country's rights. The party has survived thanks to the persistance of peasants and rural intelligentsia. Thus it has the right to continue the traditions of peasant movement because it has preserved them, Dominik Ludwiczak stated.

Strong influence of the party in rural milieu caused that in Poland, as in the only country of real socialism, private farms have been retained.

Asked about possible results of the 11th UPP Congress, Dominiak Ludwiczak said:

I am afraid of a break-up. Politicos may appear at the congress who have the ambition of being luminaries of power at the cost of Poland, society, peasants. There are people who support the UPP on the one hand, and on the other someone else. But the decisive majority of the party members came out in favour of one party with a programme based on the programme of Stanislaw Mikolajczyk's PSL.

I am moderately optimistic about setting up a united, strong peasant party in the future, Ludwiczak concluded.

United Peasants Party Presidium Confers

LD2211054189 Warsaw PAP in English
0120 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 21—At its session here today the Presidium of the United Peasant Party [UPP] CC [Central Committee] assessed the present socio-political situation in Poland with particular stress on the current problems in agriculture and food economy, the UPP CC press office announced.

The Presidium stated that retail prices, mainly for meat, milk and their produce, maintained at a high level, mainly because of growth of trade margins of profit and less from the growth of procurement prices, resulted in a considerable drop in demand for those articles.

Reductions of retail prices are fairly limited. The high level of prices is maintained at the cost of excessive reserves or even wastes of food. The problems of financing the reserves emerge.

Recently in many parts of Poland a restriction of procurement of animals for slaughter and milk has ben noted and farmers are offered lower prices, even below the level of profitability, the UPP CC Presidium firmly warns against such practices at it is another attempt to overcome the difficult situation at the cost of farmers.

Democratic Party Plenum To Be Held 6 Dec

LD2211045889 Warsaw PAP in English
0102 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 21—The spokesman for the Democratic Party CC [Central Committee] sent a communique to PAP.

It said, in part: "At today's debates the Presidium of the CC of the Democratic Party decided to convene a plenary session of the CC for Dec 6 to take a stand on the country's current economic problems.

"The Presidium accepted a concept of the information-propaganda activity. The new 'bulletin' of the Democratic Party is expected to provide faster and fuller information for party members.

"The Presidium sent an open letter to the Czechoslovak Socialist Party to support that party's activities for democratization of Czechoslovakia."

Changes in Students' Military Training Agreed

*LD2211052189 Warsaw PAP in English
0119 GMT 22 Nov 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 21—The talks held between the Defence Ministry, representatives of the Students' Independent Union (NZS) and student self-governments on reform of students' military training resulted in settlements on changes in the present system, the spokesman for the Ministry of National Education announced. Some of the reforms may be implemented still this year, others will be carried out after amending the present laws. Following are some of the changes agreed upon by the ministers of education, of defence and other ministers in charge of higher schools at their meeting on November 20 to be implemented this term.

1. To postpone military training for students with the "E" category till the Sejm adopts new legal regulations.

2. In regard to other students:

A. To provide a possibility to take diploma examinations during military service,

B. To reduce by 20 percent the total number of classes assigned for military training (...).

D. To authorize heads of military training departments to introduce changes in the content and forms of training in line with students' and higher school authorities expectations within further 20 percent of classes.

3. In regard to medicine students: To move some of practical classes (20-30 hours) and the military oath to the period after studies, to cancel the obligation to wear uniforms in military classes.

It is necessary to start work shortly on amendment of the law regulating students' military training.

The Ministry of National Education appealed to all students to immediately stop boycott of military classes.

Five Candidates Selected for Gdansk Presidency

*LD2211050289 Warsaw PAP in English
0112 GMT 22 Nov 89*

[Text] Gdansk, Nov 21—The to-date President of Gdansk Kazimierz Rynkowski resigned after eight years in the office.

Five candidatures have been proposed for the post by the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] the United Peasant Party, the Democratic Party, Solidarity and the Young Poland Political Society. The youngest candidate is 31 years old, the oldest is at the age of 56. There is one woman among candidates. Two candidates are members of the municipal people's council. Candidates are not employed in state administration.

The Presidium of the Municipal People's Council has staged hearings of the candidates. Councillors will decide who will win in secret elections next Nov 23.

Meetings, Rally Set for Ljubljana 1 December

Meeting Agenda Disputed

*AU2211163889 Ljubljana Domestic Service
in Slovene 1430 GMT 22 Nov 89*

[Text] The political temperature and emotional tension are rising virtually all over the country, especially in Slovenia, with every passing day that brings us closer to the infamous 1 December. In such a situation, when there seems to be no way out, it is time for the politicians to demonstrate their farsightedness and wisdom. In these times, which we can justifiably call grave, when the meeting storm troops do not yield and when their arrival in Ljubljana cannot be understood in any other way but as a most demeaning slap in our face, we need a resolute statement by the highest state leadership. If these people remain silent, we will be justified in asking why they are there at all.

TANJUG has not reported this yet, but we have been reliably informed that the SFRY Presidency and the Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee are finally meeting today. It seems that trouble has arisen about the agenda, but surely they must discuss the complete political chaos in the country such as the announced meeting in Ljubljana. Not only must they hold these discussions to preserve the authority of the highest state organs, but also to defend the law-governed state as a civilizated achievement which is still far away, and to face the serious danger that violence may break out in case of a mass march on Ljubljana.

Slovene Plenum Against Meeting

*AU2211185189 Ljubljana DELO
in Slovene 17 Nov 89 p 1*

[Branko Soban report: "The March on Slovenia Is Political Provocation"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 16 Nov—Today the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia expressed itself as resolutely against the meeting that the Serbs and Montenegrins of Kosovo are announcing for 1 December in Ljubljana. Of course the League of Communists cannot decide on whether the meeting will be allowed or forbidden because this is within the power of the appropriate institutions. Today the Central Committee clearly warned that this was a case of deliberate political provocation and manipulation of the truly tragic political situation of all the people in Kosovo. The political consequences of an imposed meeting should be borne solely by its direct organizers and instigators.

In an introduction to this subject, Sonja Lokar said that Slovenia does not reject a dialogue with the Serbs and Montenegrins. Everybody who comes to Slovenia in peace and dignity, and truly prepared for understanding, is welcome. We certainly want a dialogue, but only in the way that is customary in our country: at roundtables, at public forums, in a tolerant discussion in which only the soundness of arguments will prevail. One may conclude from the demands and insulting accusations that such a march on Slovenia cannot help understanding, coexistence, and readiness to live in unity and solidarity despite the differences. Therefore, Lokar proposed that the Central Committee should not reply to the committee that is preparing the meeting. The Communists should only participate in drafting the political assessment in the Socialist Alliance of Working People, which should stress that meetings are not the best political means for a tolerant and well-argued discussion, and an imported meeting can only be a handy way to inflame interethnic hatred.

Those taking part in the discussion unanimously supported Lokar's introductory speech, and some of them were even sharper in essence. Bogo Gorjan resolutely opposed the idea promoted by the committee that the march in Ljubljana should be a sort of premature train of brotherhood and unity coming from Serbia to Slovenia. Gorjan said that this would be a coarse abuse of the wonderful institution arising from the National Liberation War. Bozidar Debenjak warned that the two letters by the committee contain a number of untruths that in any law-governed state would give rise to prosecutions. Martin Kosir asked who provides the money for all of this. The hospital in Pristina lacks money for coal for heating, but this committee obviously does not have any shortage of money. He also asked why the SFRY Presidency, the SFRY Assembly, the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, and the respective Federal Executive Council Secretariats for Internal Affairs and for National Defense keep silent.

Before that, the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia adopted—with only Vinko Hafner opposing—the list of the possible candidates for the new Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia and for the members of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Hafner opposed the lists because they contain too few workers and too many managers and professional politicians. He said that he did not advocate a workers' majority, but only a greater presence of workers, otherwise it may happen that the Central Committee will represent merely the managerial and intellectual elite. A number of other questions were raised in the discussion. It was stressed that the lists contain too few women and young people (only one candidate was born in the sixties). The opinions were also divided on whether the executive secretaries should be Central Committee members or not. The grass roots should have their say on this point during the public discussion that will last until the end of November, and the final lists will be adopted by the Central Committee at the last session before the congress.

The possible candidates for president of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia are Boris Muzevic, Franci Pivec, and Ciril Ribicic. The possible candidates for secretary of the

Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia are Sonja Lokar and Uros Dular.

The Central Committee also adopted an amplified report on the realization of the guidelines, stances, and activities of the Communists in the further development of small businesses.

Police Ban Rally

LD2211201989 Belgrade TANJUG
in English 1806 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Belgrade, November 22 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav State Presidency assessment of the situation in the Southern Province Kosovo is that it is gradually improving in certain areas, but that there are still serious problems and difficulties in the realization of the Yugoslav program for this province, a statement from a session of the collective head of state said today.

The Presidency agrees that the disunity in the country and the slowing down of activities aimed at [word indistinct] the situation in Kosovo directly benefit Albanian nationalists and separatists. It also indicates it will reach special conclusions to secure a united action in the country to overcome the numerous problems and difficulties in Kosovo and resolve them more efficiently.

Having in mind its constitutional responsibility for the protection of constitutional order, the State Presidency believes that it is not acceptable for rallies in support of Albanian nationalists and separatists to be tolerated or not prevented energetically enough in some parts of the country.

At the initiative of the Slovenian Republican Presidency, the State Presidency also considered information regarding the announced holding of a rally by Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo and other parts of the country in Ljubljana on December 1st.

The State Presidency was informed about the negative stand of the competent political and state organs of Slovenia and about the fact that the Ljubljana Police Department has banned the rally.

The State Presidency believes that the current situation is highly dangerous in that it might cause inter-ethnic relations in the country to deteriorate further. It therefore appeals to all organs, institutions and citizens of Yugoslavia not to do anything to further deteriorate inter-ethnic and inter-republican relations.

The State Presidency recommends that possible [word indistinct] be found to direct communication [word indistinct] of democracy between interested citizens and representatives of organizations of Slovenia and representatives of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo. This will contribute to stonger unity and better understanding among nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia, the statement of the session of the Yugoslav State Presidency concludes.

Assembly Urges Banning Rally

LD2311090489 Belgrade TANJUG
in English 0024 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Ljubljana, Nov 22 (TANJUG)—The deputies of all three councils of the Assembly of Slovenia, Yugoslavia's northwestern republic, today demanded the republican authorities to take all measures to secure the respect of the decision banning a rally of Serbs and Montenegrins from the southern province of Kosovo planned for December 1 in Ljubljana.

Members of the Slovenian Assembly quote an article of the Federal Constitution, under which the decisions reached by the authorities in one of the republics apply to the entire territory of Yugoslavia, and expect all organs in the country to act accordingly and do "everything to prevent an organized arrival of protesters in Ljubljana."

Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo have planned a "peaceful protest rally" in Ljubljana, aimed at pointing out the various pressures they face as a minority in Kosovo, Yugoslavia's most underdeveloped and most densely populated region.

Tens of thousands of Serbs and Montenegrins have fled Kosovo over the past decade under pressure from separatist and chauvinist forces within the majority ethnic Albanian population.

Serbs 'Will Not Abandon' Meeting

AU2311160989 Belgrade POLITIKA
in Serbo-Croatian 22 Nov 89 p 12

[Zejnel Zejneli report: "The Meeting of Truth Will Not Be Abandoned"]

[Text] Pristina, 21 November—The leadership of the Committee for the Return of Serbs and Montenegrins to Kosovo, which is preparing the meeting in Ljubljana, are not abandoning their intentions despite the dangerous threats that have been coming from part of the "democratically" oriented leadership of Slovenia.

We do not understand, said Bogdan Kecman, the committee's president, why our meeting, about which the leaders are saying "we want to destabilize Slovenia," is being banned in our country when we only want to tell the real truth about Kosovo to our brothers in our country.

However, regardless of all this, we will not abandon it, despite the threat that "all available means" will be used to prevent our entry into Ljubljana, said Kecman.

Late last night, the Slovene leadership also confirmed the threat, that has been repeated for days, that they do not want a meeting in their community and that it will use all means to ensure that it will not be held. The most surprise was caused by the announcement by the Ljubljana Secretariat for Internal Affairs which banned the meeting.

The democratic public in Yugoslavia is surprised precisely because of everything that has been coming from Slovenia as a threat. The question that is being asked in Kosovo and even among the Albanians who are preparing for the meeting in Ljubljana, is: Where does this metamorphosis in the behavior and interpretation of democracy in Slovenia come from? Up until only several months ago, the Slovenes were trying to convince the world that they were the most democratic community in Yugoslavia but suddenly they are now closing their borders, that is the borders of a Yugoslav state, because of an ordinary meeting!

However, regardless of all this, the meeting will not be abandoned.

Trains have been prepared, 600 taxi drivers from Montenegro will drive people free of charge to Ljubljana, and at least one bus-load of people will come from every town where a meeting has been held in the last few years.

The committee for preparing the meeting in Ljubljana has also been contacted by many Slovenes who have asked them not to give up the meeting. The individuals that have been in touch have said that they have been threatened with dismissal from their jobs by some of the Slovene leadership and the leaders in work organizations if they join the people who will be coming to Ljubljana from Kosovo and other parts of Yugoslavia.

The committee in Kosovo Polje has rejected all the proposals that have come from Slovenia for a delegation to go there to hold talks with citizens in Cankar Hall! The Slovene leadership has even specified and sent the proposal that 144 individuals can come to Slovenia and will be divided into 12 delegations by the Slovenes. From these, six delegations will hold talks on the institutions of the system. One delegation will be received by the president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and the president of the League of Communists of Slovenia, the Archbishop, alternative associations, and others. Slovene newspapers will devote as much space to all the talks as the people in the delegations want and in particular, there will be the opportunity for the possible talks with Slovene citizens in Cankar Hall to be carried live on television!

It has also been proposed that the delegations be distributed in houses!

All these proposals have been rejected because people here are sure that everything that will be said by the people who might come in the delegations will be manipulated in this way.

The Serbs, Montenegrins, Albanians, Muslims, and others who will be coming to the meeting in Ljubljana will remain in the city for as long as the meeting lasts. It is envisaged that it will last at least 1 hour, and one committee member, one Albanian, and one Slovene will speak.

The committee for organizing and preparing the meeting believes that no incidents whatsoever should arise because there is no need or reason for this despite the threats that have been coming from official institutions in Slovenia.

If the Slovene leadership, nevertheless, causes an incident because of its firm stand of not allowing the meeting to be held, the committee wishes to disclaim in advance any responsibility for any incident that may occur.

If the Slovene leadership decides to close the borders of its sovereign state, all those who have come to the meeting will return to their homes peacefully.

If the Slovene leadership does close the borders, it will be showing their true colors and their "democracy" to Yugoslavia and, above all, the world democratic public.

Otherwise, the Serbs, Montenegrins, Albanians, and others who come to the meeting will carry only Yugoslav flags, as has been agreed.

Stanovnik on Banning Meeting

AU2311205789 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] The Presidency of Slovenia, together with the Republican Executive Council and other responsible organs, will undertake all measures with a view to implementing the decision to ban the meeting in Ljubljana and to ensure security, law, and order. This is what Janez Stanovnik, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, said at a news conference in Ljubljana. Stanovnik recalled that last Friday the Republican Presidency formed its own view concerning the demand to organize a meeting in Ljubljana on 1 December, and said that this view is unambiguous. Such a meeting is unnecessary and harmful because, in Stanovnik's opinion, it represents a serious danger to public law and order and foments interethnic conflicts.

Trial of Vlasi, 14 Others in Titova Mitrovica

Hearings Resume

LD2311150189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1401 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Titova Mitrovic, 23 Nov (TANJUG)—The district court in Titova Mitrovica opened its main hearing today under the indictment charging Azem Vlasi and 14 other persons of committing the criminal act of counterrevolutionary activity endagering the country's social order.

The continuation of the main hearing proceeded in the same manner as its opening session: The defense presenting several demands and objections. It again demanded that the trial be moved to another town and another court. The defense again asked for disqualification of the district public prosecutor, Spasoje Zamfirovic, against which the defense lawyers raised objections for his allegedly inappropriate behavior.

Several defense lawyers proposed that detention for their clients be ended. They asked if the SFRY Assembly has started consideration of the initiative for abolishing Article 114 of the SFRY Penal Code, under which the accused are charged.

After these demands were made, the court called a recess, after which it is expected that the Court Council will reply.

Disqualifications Sought, Rejected

LD2411113189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1049 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Titova Mitrovica, 24 Nov (TANJUG)—The main hearing against those accused for counterrevolutionary endangering of the country's social order resumed today in front of the five-judge council of the district court in Titova Mitrovica.

The Council President Ismet Emra stated at the beginning that the defense demands made yesterday for disqualification of a member of the council, Jusuf Mejzimi, on the basis of his kinship with the president of the municipal committee of the Titova Mitrovica League of Communists, Mehmet Ajeti, and with Husamedin Azemi, were rejected. It was also stated that [words indistinct] for disqualification of the district public prosecutor, Spasoje Zamifirovic, [words indistinct].

The defense asked for a shorthand report of the whole hearing, as well as for voice recordings.

Adjourned Until 4 December

LD2411144189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1322 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Pristina, 24 Nov (TANJUG)—Following the reading of the indictment, the president of the District Court in Titova Mitrovica interrupted today's court proceedings against Azem Vlasi and the fourteen accused of posing a counterrevolutionary threat to the social system of the country, and set the resumption of the trial for 4 December. He explained that this was to allow the first defendent sufficient time to prepare his defense.

Otherwise, during the reading of the indictment today and afterwards, there were further "tussles" between the prosecutor and the defense lawyers. [passage indistinct]

The majority of the defendants said that they understood the text of the indictment, but they noted that it was "confused, ridiculous, and unsupported".

Commentary Views Slovene-Serbian Talks

AU2311091989 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Nov 89 p 2

[Veselin Simonovic commentary: "Dialogue Breaks the Ice"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 31 Oct—Relations between the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the Socialist Republic of Slovenia have been frozen for quite a long time so that any visit by an official of one republic to the other immediately acquires the character of a meeting at the interstate level. A BORBA journalist even asked the president of the Slovene Socialist Alliance—not jokingly—before his journey to Serbia on the brotherhood and unity train, whether the talks that would be held at that time would revive the bilateral relations between the two republics. The reply after the train trip could be: trains pass through but inter-republic quarrels remain. Well-intentioned calls for the leaderships of the two republics to sit at a table and talk have not only become superfluous but also even funny.

Dr Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, announced that members of this forum would visit all the republics and provinces and that he would visit Serbia and Dr Borisav Jovic would visit Slovenia. It is not important whether this arrangement was accidental or not because in any case it was the right one. Despite calls and a positive response, no direct conflicts arose between the two leaderships.

The vice president of the SFRY Presidency visited Slovenia yesterday and both he and his host reiterated several times that he had not gone to Ljubljana as an official of Serbia but as a member of the federal Presidency. The talks that followed at the session of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia demonstrated that, on the whole, they could not by any means depart from the established framework and that they inevitably turned into a debate on the Serbian and Slovene options. Why could they not go beyond this stereotype? That question relates to the (non)functioning of the federal state and is a subject by itself. All the members of the Slovene Presidency and Borisav Jovic heralded open talks from the very beginning, they recognized the importance of tolerance, the acknowledgement of different options, and the necessity of reasoned dialogue. It can really be said that this meeting was open and tolerant. Time will tell to what extent it was constructive, although it can be said that Jovic's visit gave both bad and good indications. One had the impression that vice president Jovic even surprised his host with his opinions—in the positive sense, of course—and, for example, with the words: We will find it easy to agree on social ownership since it normally is not a privileged institution.

On the other hand, when one sums up the whole debate, it can be seen that the vice president rejected all proposals made by members of the Slovene Presidency and other officials from this republic, or he simply ignored some of them. Jovic did not approve of the proposal not to launch an initiative to change the federal constitution until key contentious issues had been cleared up, nor the proposal for all the republics and provinces to first of all put forward their proposals for future changes and only then for the state Presidency to initiate the procedure. He least approved of Slovene consideration of an assymetric federation and such like.

Everyone finally agreed that the essence of the Serbian-Slovene conflict lies in different conceptions of the future model of the federation. Jovic even said that it would be easy to reach agreement on all the other questions but that vehement debate and confrontations concerning the federation were to come. Janez Stanovnik and the others thought something similar.

This time, however, the talks did not go further than this acknowledgment of differences in principle. Nothing more, of course, could even be expected from this type of meeting. Its value, nevertheless, lies in the fact that both members of the Slovene Presidency and other officials, including the vice president of the SFRY Presidency, recognized that these options had the right to exist without any advance exclusivity and the presentation of a personal option as the only correct and possible one. Any other approach—this has been demonstrated to us by the statements of our politicians—inevitably leads to the view "he who is not with us is against us."

They also all agreed with the claim that dialogue between the two leaderships is essential. Milan Kucan said that had such meetings taken place even earlier, many disagreements would certainly have been avoided. Jovic stated that these talks were necessary since relations are bad between Serbia and Slovenia. Since this meeting often seemed like a "dialogue of the deaf," despite the constant insistence on dialogue, we asked Jovic and Stanovnik to comment on this claim. Jovic's reply was categorical: "No, this could not be said." Stanovnik thought something similar and illustrated his claim with the following example: "When talks are held on disarmament, recordings of these talks are listened to for hours afterwards in an effort to find common threads. There have been many common threads in these talks." This claim by the president of the Slovene Presidency is not only correct but also shows to what extent relations between the two republics have deteriorated.

Therefore, with an uneasy feeling, one asks the question whether Jovic's visit "broke the ice" at least a little and opened the way to constructive dialogue between the leaderships of Serbia and Slovenia. This dialogue is all the more essential when one realizes that the future constitutional debates contain only two defined concepts—they are Slovene and Serbian. Jovic's claim that the proposal by the Slovene member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia to drop charges against Azem Vlasi would only intensify relations between Serbia and Slovenia shows that a meeting between the leaderships of these two republics is still a long way off. In the meantime, official proposals for charges to be dropped against Azem Vlasi have even appeared in the Slovene Socialist Alliance of Working People and a meeting against Azem Vlasi's trial has even been announced. This could, unfortunately, break all those threads that Janez Stanovnik was speaking about.

Markovic at Aleksinac Mines, Soviets Join Rescue

LD2211061689 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2310 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Aleksinac, November 21 (TANJUG)—Rescue teams are doing their utmost to overcome technical and other difficulties and reach the trapped miners as soon as possible in the Aleksinac mines in southern Serbia, Yugoslavia's largest republic.

This afternoon between five and eight thousand cubic meters of nitrogen have been pumped into the pit, where a fire broke out last Friday killing 90 miners [words indistinct] and the operation will continue during the night. This will enable the clearing of the 700m-long path to the disaster area and consequently the removal of [words indistinct] the miners.

Yugoslav Federal Premier Ante Markovic today visited the Aleksinac mines. He emphasized the importance of solidarity with the families of the miners, and of determining the real cause of the accident.

Three Soviet experts will join the rescue operation tomorrow. They have a special instrument for measuring gas in pits, which should step-up the process of putting out the fire without further danger.

Committee Meets To Prepare 14th LCY Congress

LD2311095989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0001 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 22 (TANJUG)—The awareness about the necessity of the transformation and democratization of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia—the leading ideological force in the country—as well as the strengthening of the role of each individual LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] member, the abolition of the one-party monopoly and the separation of the party from the state has grown in all parts of the LCY.

This was stated in Belgrade today, at a session of the committee for the preparation of the 14th, special LCY Congress, to be held in Yugoslavia's capital at the end of next January.

The session also discussed the results of a debate held among the two million LCY members, which pointed to the need for strengthening the unity of the League of Communists, a reaffirmation of the moral image of the party member, a more flexible party organisation and the democratization of cadre policy and the election procedure.

An important topic of inter-party debates—the question of political pluralism—has not been fully resolved.

LCY Central Committee Presidency President Milan Pancevski stressed at today's session that no one was against political pluralism. The new federal constitution, however, should set out clear rules on the issue in order to protect the basic values of the Yugoslav society and prevent political association based on anti-socialist and anti-self managing commitments.

Most of the differences that emerged in the public debate held in Yugoslavia's six republican and two provincial party organisations concern the definition of party unity, the principle of democratic centralism and the manner of decision-making in top LCY organs.

Protest at Level of LCY Delegation in Romania

LD2311214689 Belgrade TANJUG
in English 1602 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Ljubljana, Nov 23 (TANJUG)—A commission of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia voiced its (?disapproval) today of the level of the delegation of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) which was sent to the 14th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party (RCP).

The commission said that the delegation should not have been headed by a member of the LCY Central Committee Presidency, but by a figure of lower rank.

The innermost leadership of the Romanian Communist Party is the proponent of a policy of violating basic human rights and freedoms, and the inspirer of an undemocratic and (?repressive) treatment of its own people, the commission's statement said.

Such a policy, which is in opposition to the freedom-loving, democratic and emancipatory foundations of the idea of socialism, we reject for reasons of principle. We are of the opinion that in the relations between the two parties we must not by our actions create the impression that the LCY is in any way in agreement with such a policy, the announcement says.

By participating in the 14th Congress of the RCP exclusively at the working level of observer we should have shown our clear restraint and non-acceptance of that authoritharian policy, which has been condemned by the widest democratic public in Europe and throughout the world, the commission said in its announcement.

People's Army LCY Organization Conference Opens

LD2311100989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0837 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Nov (TANJUG)—A 2-day session of the Conference of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Organization in the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] opened in the Army Club in Belgrade this morning with the playing of the Internationale and a 1-minute silence for the miners killed in Aleksinac mine.

In addition to a delegation of the LCY Central Committee which includes Marko Lolic, Ugljesa Uzelac, and Dragica Zgrebec, the conference is also being attended by representatives of the SUBNOR [Federation of Veterans' Associations of Yugoslavia], the Federation of the Reserve Officers of Yugoslavia, by the Federal Secretary for National Defense, Colonel-General Veljko Kadijevic, and other personalities.

An introductory report on the work conducted by the LCY Organization in the JNA during the preceding period and on the most significant results of the communists' activity in the JNA was submitted by Vice-Admiral Petar Simic, president of the Presidium of the LCY Organization in the JNA.

Slovene Presidency Discusses New Constitution

AU2211115289 Belgrade POLITIKA
in Serbo-Croatian 9 Nov 89 p 7

[TANJUG report: "The Letter of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia to the SFRY Presidency"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 8 Nov—In connection with the initiative to change the SFRY Constitution, today the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia sent a letter to the SFRY Presidency, in which it expressed its conviction that the proposal to start this procedure should contain a clear idea of how to form the new federal constitution.

The Socialist Republic of Slovenia is of the opinion that, considering the nature of our federation, it is important for the success of the public debate and the entire procedure, in preparing the new SFRY Constitution, that is, the new constitutional system, to also prepare and adopt new constitutional documents for the republics of the Federation at the same time.

It is stressed in the letter of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia that a realistic and politically wise approach requires that the procedure of preparing the new constitution be oriented from the very beginning toward such changes of the present setup which will be acceptable to all members of the Federation.

Slovene Youth Organization Presidium Meets

LD2211104789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1507 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 21 Nov (TANJUG)—The Slovene youth organization does not agree with the stance of the Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] Presidium on electoral law, it was said today at the session of the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Slovene Socialist Youth Federation (SSO). Unless the front changes its stance on the way delegates are elected, the youth organization will file suit at the Slovene Constitutional Court and boycott the elections.

The youth organization sharply protests the decision of the Republican Conference Presidium of the Slovene SAWP to support, out of three proposals, the one according to which "the electorat will vote for delegates in the Socio-Political Chamber of the Assembly individually irrespective of lists they are on." Thereby, the Socialist Alliance breaches the recent compromise between old and new parties in the Assembly; that is, it breaches the agreed on principle that the electorate should decide for itself how to vote. [passage omitted]

The session, under the item various, discussed "the ways to mark 1 December." The Presidium of the Slovene SSO views that day primarily as "the international AIDS day, and this is how it will mark it. The day before, posters will appear on walls in Ljubljana, and in next few days, a series of activities on this topic will be organized."

Group for Safeguarding Citizens Equality Founded

LD2211105989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2108 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Ljubljana, 21 Nov (TANJUG)—A founding assembly was held in Ljubljana this evening of the Alliance for Safeguarding Equality of Citizens. The assembly was attended by 200 future members of this association who came from different parts of Slovenia. As envisaged by its program, the Alliance will focus its activities on various ways to safeguard the equality of all the people living in Slovenia, their culture, national identity, and traditions. Its members, who belong to different nations and nationalities living in Slovenia, will, through concerted action, fight all forms of nationalism, chauvinism, and attempts to disenfranchise people.

In his introductory report, Dragisa Marojevic, president of the initiative committee, stressed that the Alliance will concentrate its efforts on enhancing togetherness in Yugoslavia because, as he put it, "divided in this way and along national lines we have no chance of overcoming either the social or the economic crisis or of securing entry into Europe." [passage omitted]

Court Proceeding Against Mamula's Insulter Ended

LD2111190189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1038 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Ljubljana, 21 Nov (TANJUG)—Emil Zakonjsek, a judge from a Ljubljana magistrates' court, decided not to wait any longer for permission from the offended party, Branko Mamula, and at yesterday's main hearing passed a verdict which halts criminal proceedings against Franci Zavrl. Zavrl is accused of insulting former Federal Secretary for National Defence Branko Mamula, since while he was the editor in chief of MLADINA, last year, he published an editorial entitled "Mamula Go Home." [passage omitted]

AIDS Cases in Yugoslavia Reported

LD2211000189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatia 1524 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Znov (TANJUG)—Since 1985, when the monitoring of AIDS in Yugoslavia began, a total of 99 people have developed AIDS. Fifty-eight percent of those have died, it was reported today at a press conference held in the Federal Executive Council in connection with the forthcoming world day of fight against AIDS (1 December).

Among those who developed AIDS the highest number are drug addicts—38.2 percent, which is much higher than the European average (30.1 percent). Homosexuals and bisexuals are in the second place, 25.4 percent, then hemophiliacs, 15.9 percent and heterosexuals, 12.7 percent.

While there are no cases of AIDS in Macedonia and Montenegro, in Bosnia-Hercegovina four cases were registered, eight in Slovenia, 17 in Croatia, while the highest number is in Serbia, 63. Of this number ten are from Vojvodina and two from Kosovo.